HISTORY OF THE WODEYARS OF MYSORE

(1610-1748)

A. SATYANARAYANA
Deputy Superintending Archaeologist (Retd.)
Archaeological Survey of India

1996
DIRECTORATE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEUMS
MYSORE

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GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA

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FOREWORD

In the glittering glow of scientific marvels, one is apt to ignore history, but that will be a sort of blunder. One ought to know that a nation that forgets the past will have no future. History is like the memory of man without which a society would ever remain a child, totally devoid of any experience. As the present is the outcome of the past, the rich heritage India has gained is the only asset on which to build a nation of our dream. Karnataka too has contributed much to the sum-total of that heritage in the realm of art, architecture, literature, philosophy, religion, polity, society, economy and culture. This study is an attempt to present the history of this region, focussed on a particular dynasty at a particular point of time.

In the historiography of our post-independence era, two trends emerge prominent. One is the emphasis on socio-economic history, and the other is the subjective approach towards our medieval history. Consequently, political history which had attracted excessive attention of our earlier historians was relegated to the background, and our medieval history came to be glanced with coloured glasses. The need is great to correct this imbalance and put our medieval history in right perspective. This study is again an attempt in that direction.

Any student of history would be struck by a few striking features of Karnataka history. They are its copious lithic records, its profuse literary sources, its long political history, its unique liberal trends, its exquisite art and architecture, and its rare ability to absorb anything good and great from any quarter. These are the factors that advance not merely the progress of a society but also act as sheet anchors to rescue any ship of State in stormy waters. These factors have been well taken care of in this study to present a coherent picture of the history of this region under the early Wodeyars.

The Wodeyars had a long rule. There was nothing unusual or extraordinary in their early rule, except that they conformed to a traditional pattern. They exerted their utmost to build up their power to meet the challenges of the time, to extend their frontiers, to domineer over the weak, to administer the land to the best of their ability, to enjoy the pomp and plum of power, and to patronise those arts and crafts which go with the aristocracy of intellect and wealth. The picture we get of the times under review (1399-1748 A.D.) is one of routine power-struggle of a feudal age when the rulers were engaged in their own internecine warfares, when every principality asserted its own independence, and when the central authority was equally anxious to crush its ambitions.

The history of Wodeyars becomes more interesting with the advent of Raj Wodeyar who inaugurated an era of Mysore playing a key-role in the politics of the south. This was the time when the kingdom of Mysore was confronted with more powerful external forces such as the Shahis of Bijapur, the Marathas of the Deccan, and the Mughals of Delhi. When the very survival in the midst of such hostile forces was a problem, it should be said to the credit of such stalwarts as Raja Wodeyar and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar that not only did they wade through the troubled waters, but also with their sagacity, foresight and dynamism made Mysore a power to reckon with.

But the significance of the study of the times lies somewhere else. It is in the realm of *Bhakti* Movement which lifted India to great heights. It was Karnataka that was in the vanguard of this movement spreading the message of love, service and devotion. From one end of Karnataka to the other the *Anubhavis* carried on a relentless crusade against caste rigidities, and to foster the feelings of amity, concord and harmony, which had never been heard of before. It was an awakening of rare type which intended to level down the barriers of caste and creed, and to sow the seeds of that knowledge and understanding, which would fructify on the horizon of human fellowship. It heralded the dawn of that maturity in man when he would rise from the fleeting pleasures to realise the unity of man, the solidarity of human race, the dignity of labour, the equality of gender, the futility of caste distinctions, and the value of service and sacrifice. Religion is a potent factor that shapes the mind and soul of a society, and when that religion gets saturated in value and virtue, in love and devotion, in truth and beauty, and in compassion and concern for the poor, this earth gets transformed into a celestial sphere of peace and joy. Our sages and savants, our bhakti preachers and teachers were all god-intoxicated souls who have gifted to mankind that sublimity which touches the region of divinity. It is the purity of their soul that has conferred everlasting glory to India. It is for the reason that medieval Karnataka lit this lamp of *Bhakti* movement that its history assumes special significance.

The scholar who has undertaken this study deserves great credit for his labour of love in presenting a lucid, clear and cogent account of Wodeyars' rule until the rise of Haidar Ali, when this region assumed altogether a different character. The study has dealt with great details all aspects of polity, society, economy, administration and culture. Its merit lies in the exhaustive study of all available sources, in the fair assessment of men and events, and in the adoption of a simple and attractive style. This work is the result of long, hard and painstaking research, which has been well-grounded on the original sources of epigraphical records, as the scholar happens to be a distinguished epigraphist himself. What is very appreciative about him is his sincerity of purpose, perseverance of goal, inexhaustible patience and indefatigable labour. We needed a good study on Wodeyars, and here it is both for the scholarly world and the general public.

B. Sheik Ali

B. Sheik Ali

Mysore
15 May 1996

PREFACE

The Directorate of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka is happy to present this volume on THE HISTORY OF THE WODEYARS OF MYSORE by Dr. A.Satyanarayana. The book contains the results of Dr. Satyanarayana's research for his Doctoral dissertation based on the original sources-inscriptional and literary. Dr. Satyanarayana has dealt commendably different aspects like politics, history, administration, society, economy, art and culture. I congratulate Dr. Satyanarayana for this scholarly work.

This Directorate well known for its publications on archaeology, art, architecture and epigraphy is expanding its horizon to regional history also through this publication.

Dr. V.Prakash, Director of the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, graciously accepted the printing of this book. Sri. K.A.Ranganath, Head, FOSTIS and Sri S.Umesh, Technical Officer, Printing, with the assistance of Sriyuths G.Venkateshan and C.N.Janardhana of FOSTIS of CFTRI have printed this volume attractively within a short time. My grateful thanks are due to them

Mysore
24.05.1995

(D.V.Devaraj)
Director of Archaeology
and Museums

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This study seeks to discuss the entire history of the Wodeyar dynasty from its rise to maturity. Perhaps this dynasty happens to be the only one in medieval and modern times to be continuously in power from 1399 to 1947 with an interregnum of about 40 years or so when Haidar and Tipu Sultan dislodged them. They played an important role in the disturbed and confused era of medieval times when feudal loyalties presented an ever changing pattern of power politics. In the wake of the Muslim invasions of the South an opportunity was offered to ambitious chieftains to carve out independent principalities for themselves. In the struggle for survival such of those who were even marginally superior to their rivals would not only consolidate their power but would also expand it. The same factor could explain the rise of the early Wodeyars.

It was an age when a real leader could not spend his time merely in luxury and splendour. The Wodeyars very well realised this factor. They devoted most of their time and energy in the field of battle and built a strong kingdom which not only outlived all its rivals for power but also attracted the attention of the mightiest powers of the period. The Wodeyars knew well how to build a kingdom, how to expand it and how to administer it. The credit of uniting a greater part of Mysore which was torn by political fractions and jealousies belongs to the Wodeyar rulers. The dynasty produced certain outstanding personalities like Raja Wodeyar, Doddadevaraja Wodeyar and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar who are interesting personalities, who by their ceaseless efforts, elevated a small principality to the position of an important kingdom and brought that kingdom into contact with the bigger world and are verily regarded as 'Makers of Modern Mysore'.

In addition to their military prowess the Wodeyars are also well known for their astute statesmanship and political diplomacy. The manner in which Raja Wodeyar acquired Srirangapatna in 1610 without a war or without loosing even a single soldier and the diplomacy with which Chikkadevaraja saved the integrity and the sovereignity of his kingdom by his cordial relationship with Aurangazeb the mighty emperor who was out to reduce all the princes and to bring the whole of India under his control, are certain interesting aspects of the history of Mysore which speak much about the sagacity and shrewdness of the Wodeyars. As an ally of the Mughals Mysore stood as a bastion to the Maratha expansion in Karnataka. Whereas Shivaji had to pay heavily for his policy of confrontation which Aurangazeb, Chikkadevaraja derived limitless advantages by avoiding any friction with the emperor.

The administrative machinery that the Wodeyars introduced was strong and a model one known for equality and justice. Despite restless wars that the rulers fought, the kingdom enjoyed the blessings of a settled government. They were great patrons of art and literature. Their period witnessed a renaissance in Kannada literature which is unprecedented in the history of Karnataka as a whole. Their rule was free from such vices as political subjugation, economic exploitation and religious persecution. Perhaps this is one of the few dynasties in which we never come across even a single war of succession or a popular revolt against the rulers. Such a dynasty was bound to continue for long in power and to play a dominant role in the politics of the South.

The society in medieval Karnataka which was thus vibrant and full of action and diplomacy is charged with changlessness and as representing a dormant culture which had lost all its dynamism and vitality. This is not a correct inference. The Wodeyar rule witnessed vast changes in every walk of our life. Besides, the monotheistic *Bhakti* movement which was coterminous which the Wodeyar rule in Mysore, also made a deep impact on our society and culture during this period.

Though the dynasty was founded in 1399, the early rulers - Yadu and his immediate successors who were feudal vassals of the emperors of Vijayanagara do not appear in contemporary history at all till we come to the reign period of Chamaraja Wodeyar III (1513-1553). For a history of these early rulers including their genealogy and chronology we have to depend on some Kannada manuscripts of a later date available in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras and in the Institute of Kannada Studies, Manasa Gangotri, Mysore. Among these earliest manuscripts on the early Wodeyars of Mysore is a scroll *(Kadita)* entitled *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* Ms. No. 18-15-37 an anonymous manuscript in the Mackenzie collection in the Oriental Library Madras assignable to about 1720 A.D. It gives us the genealogical history of the early Wodeyars up to Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1714-1732) and the conquests and annexations made during each reign. It also gives us an account of the dalvoys that served under each ruler and supplies us the names of some of the predecessors of Chamaraja Wodeyar III (1515-1545) which are missing in most of the manuscripts and also mentions the *Raja Nirupa* or the Royal order sent by Venkatapati Raya II of Vijayanagar to the Viceroy of Srirangapatna demanding the latter to abdicate and asking Raja Wodeyar of Mysore to take charge of the Viceroyalty of Srirangapatna in 1610.

Another manuscript in the Madras Oriental Library namely *Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara Sangati* (Ms. No. 18-15-18P) is another source material for the early history of Mysore. This is also an anonymous manuscript and is assignable to about 1740 A.D and is a useful supplement to the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara.*

The *Mysuru Raja Charitre* by Venkataramaniya (Ms. No. 19-1-12-P) in the Oriental Library, Madras is also a useful source. But at times this work gives us some distorted accounts and will be a useful supplement to the other manuscripts if it is cautiously handled. This manuscript is assignable to 1800.

Another anonymous manuscript in the Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore entitled *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali* is also a valuable source work on Mysore history written in broken Kannada. This work stops abruptly after 1645 with the annexation of Piriyapattana to Mysore by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659). It gives some interesting details about Raja

Wodeyar's aggressions and annexations prior to his occupation of Srirangapatna. Though it is undated, on palaeographical grounds it can be assigned to abut 1800 A.D.

The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family compiled by Shri Ramakrishna Rao in the year 1916 is a mere reiteration of an earlier work on Mysore history namely the *Vamsa Ratnakara* in Mysore palace library. Like the other Kannada sources mentioned above this is also a genealogical history of the Wodeyars and a narrative account of the conquests made during the reign period of each Wodeyar ruler. This work also at several places gives confused accounts but will be a valuable supplement to the other works provided it is compared with the other contemporary literary and epigraphical sources.

Wilks who wrote subsequently has largely relied upon the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhvudaya Vivara* mentioned above and his account of Mysore history is also merely a chronological and genealogical description of events. He has not taken into account the contemporary epigraphical or literary sources as they were not available to him at the time he wrote his History of Mysore. A large quantity of fresh material - epigraphical and literary has been brought to light after Wilks wrote his account of Mysore.

The later writer Hayavadana Rao has also adopted the traditional method of a descriptive and narrative cataloguing of events without any critical evaluation of the sources.

In Mysore History we have certain problems and unexplored events like the origin of the Wodeyars, occupation of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar in 1610 which is a turning point in the history of the Wodeyar dynasty, Ranadullah-Khan's invasion of Srirangapatna in 1638-39, Chikkadevaraja's relationship with the Mughals and soforth which require reinterpretation in the light of fresh materials now available to us.

All the writers of Mysore History have hither-to held the view that the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore was an aboriginal one. The chroniclers have traced their (Wodeyars') origin to the Lunar race of Yadu of Dvaraka in which was born Sri Krishna. Some of the modern scholars like H.V.Rao, Wilks, S.K.Aiyangar and so on have attributed their origin to the Yadavas of Davagiri. But on a critical evaluation of the literary and epigraphical sources I have attempted to show that the Wodeyars were the sons of the soil but not the Yadu princes of Dvaraka or the Yadavas of Devagiri who came from north and established a new kingdom here. While discussing this problem I have also critically examined the circumstances leading to the foundation of the dynasty.

Secondly the general opinion so far was that Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna after defeating Tirumala the viceroy in a bloody war, whereas in reality this is not so. Raja Wodeyar's occupation of Srirangapatna was not violent but a peaceful change of administration in the viceroyalty. On finding that Tirumala the viceroy of Srirangapatna was incapable of protecting the imperial interests in the South Venkatapati Raya II of Vijayanagar (1586-1614) issued a royal proclamation instructing Tirumala to abdicate and asked Raja Wodeyar to take over the administration of the viceroyalty with all promises of protection. I have shown this on a critical analysis of the contemporary epigraphical and literary sources. In the same way Chikkadeva's cordial relationship with Aurangazeb is yet another interesting factor in the history of Mysore which reflects the shrewdness and diplomacy of the Mysore Raja. What prompted Chikkadeva to come closer to Aurangazeb was not merely thwarting of the restless attacks of the Marathas and the Bijapuris on Mysore, but more than that in aligning himself with the Mughal emperor, Chikkadeva was tactful enough to anticipate the Maratha design to make Mysore the safety valve for their retreat in case the Mughals were to become too irresistable. But Chikkadevaraja did not give any scope to such a situation. I have come to this conclusion with the help of the Mughal manuscripts and the contemporary Kannada sources like *Chikkadevaraja binapam, Apratima Vira charitam* and so on.

Among the new materials that I have used in my work is a scroll (*Kadita* K.B.208) in the Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore where I accidentally came across this source material in the course of my quest for fresh sources. This scroll which is in Kannada is an anonymous work and supplies us very useful information and is a very valuable substitute to the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara.* It throws interesting light on Doddadevaraja's relations with *Immadi* Kempe Gowda of Magadi. This information is not available to us in any other source, but is indirectly corroborated by contemporary epigraphical evidence.

Another fresh Persian manuscript used in this work is the *Futuhat- i-Adil Shahi* of Faruhi Astrabadi in the possession of Dr. P.M.Joshi, Bombay. It is an indispensable source material to our study and is a valuable supplement to the *Muhammad Namah* and gives us more details on the Mysore Bijapur relations in the first half of the 17th century. Written during the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur (1626-1656) a contemporary of Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore, (1638-1659) this manuscript is a very valuable proof for the history of Mysore particularly for the reign of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar.

In the Oriental Manuscript Library at Madras we have a few Tamil manuscripts dealing on the history of Mysore. These are (a) *Mysuru Rajakkal Charitram* and (b) *Mysuru Doddadevaraja Charitram.* Both are anonymous and are assignable to about 1800 A.D. The first one is a verbatim reproduction of the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya* Vivara while the latter is an original one throwing much light on the life and achievements of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar of Mysore (1659-1673).

On the side of administration excepting certain stray references on this by Hayavadana Rao, nobady had done any work on this aspect of Mysore History. There remained much to be explored to trace all aspects of the administrative machinery introduced by the Wodeyars-Political military and Judicial. This work is an attempt to fill this gap. Similarly no attempt was made by the earlier scholars to trace the social and economic history of Mysore under the Wodeyars. This is very important as it gives us a glimpse into the life of the common man of the period. The contemporary literary sources like the *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* (of Govinda Vaidya a court poet of Kanthirava) and the *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* by Tirumalarya (a councillor and a poet in the court of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar) are useful for the social history, while the vast body of the inscriptions of the period are very useful for a survey of all the details pertaining to the economic conditions of the period. After a thorough survey of the literary works and the inscriptions of the period I have attempted here, to give a detailed picture of the society and economy of the period. The most important aspect of the history of the early Wodeyars namely the study of the 'Art and Culture' like architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance, drama and so on remained untouched. These interesting aspects of the Wodeyar history have been brought to light in this work with the help of the contemporary sources so as to make the study complete and comprehensive.

Among the epigraphical sources we have a large number of inscriptions belonging to this period. Most of them are contemporary original records throwing a flood of light especially on the political and economic conditions under the Wodeyars. Though some of them are eulogistic in nature, if we handle them carefully in comparison with other sources like the *Kanthrava Narasaraja Vijayam,* the *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* and so on, they prove to be very good contemporary evidences to the history of the early Wodeyars of Mysore.

We have some contemporary literary sources like the *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* of Govinda Vaidya a court poet of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, the *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam, Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* and the *Apratimavira Charitram* written by Tirumalarya the court poet of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* is a good source book for the Mysore Bijapur relations. It also throws a lot of light on the social conditions of the period, like the food of the people, the dress they were, the ornaments of the day and so on. The other three works of Tirumalarya give us very good details of the life and achievements of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The *Apratima Vira Charitam* which is a study on *poetics alankara* is a very valuable source material for the relations of Mysore with Ikkri and the Marathas.

The English Factory Records and the letters of the Fort St. George supply us useful informations about the relations between Mysore and the emperor Sriranga III, the precarious conditions of Sriranga in the last days of the empire and his desperate bid to retrieve its past glory. These records also show us how the fall of Vijayanagara correspondingly led to the rise of Mysore as a powerful kingdom in South India.

The French source - *La Mission Due Madure* is also very useful for us to trace the Mysore-Madura relations and also the Mysore-Vijayanagara relations in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Among the Subaltern studies dealing on different aspects of South Indian History in general written in recent times like the *Peasant, State and Society in Medieval South India* by Burton Stein. *The South Indian History and Society from inscriptions from 850 to 1800* by Noboru Karashima, *The Agrarian System of Karnataka* by Shivanna have been consulted as these works enable us to have a comparative picture of the administrative social and economic conditions in Mysore under the early Wodeyars with the system prevailing in the neighbouring states of Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and so on. These works also tell us how the Wodeyars continued the traditional pattern in certain spheres of administration and society and how they deviated in some other respects like the village administration, system of taxation and so on depending on the changing circumstances of the period. Michell and Fritz's Monographs on Hampi and Aihole, Pattadakal and Badami help us to make a comparative study of the architecture, sculpture and paintings in Mysore under the early Wodeyars.

We have some secondary literary works in Kannada on Karnataka History in general which, though not directly bearing on Mysore history, supply us interesting information on some aspects relating to the history of Mysore. They are *Karnataka Samskriti Samikshe* by Dr. Tipperudraswamy, *Sima Purusha Shadaksharaiya* by Shivananda, V., *Karnataka Jana Jeevana* by Betigeri Krishna Sharma and so on. These are valuable references for a study of Mysore under the early Wodeyars.

I have attempted to present here in a comprehensive manner the vast changes that came about in every section of our life namely polity, economy, society, religion, language, literature, art, culture, music, poetry, drama and more particularly our dress, food, habits, customs, manners and so on due to the advent of the Wodeyars. These factors have not been taken much note of in history. Besides, there are also quite a few known facts which call for a new interpretation in the light of the fresh material now available to us. This study is an attempt to fill the gap.

I take this opportunity to record my deep debt of gratitude to Dr. B.Sheik Ali, former Vice Chancellor, Mangalore and Goa Universities, under whose guidance the present work was carried on. Inspite of his busy schedule he was kind enough to squeeze time to go through my manuscript and offer valuable suggestions, advice and assistance throughout, and also for the foreward that he has written to this volume. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. Venkatarathnam, Professor of History (Retd.), University of Mysore and Dr. Rangaswamayya, Reader, Department of History, University of Mysore, for the encouragement and inspiration that I received from each of them during my study. I am also deeply beholden to Dr. A.V.Narasimhamurthy, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology (Retd.), University of Mysore who was instrumental in my undertaking this project. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. M.S.Nagaraja Rao, Director of Archaeology and Museum, Government of Karnataka (Retd.) who has rendered me valuable help by graciously permitting me to use the State Archaeological Library and to take photographs of the coins of the Wodeyar period in the Government Museum, Bangalore and other antiquities of the same period available in the Mysore Palace. Dr. K.V.Ramesh, Joint Director, General Archaeological Survey of India (Retd), has evinced very keen interest in my work and has helped me a lot in so many ways. I am extremely grateful to him for his over-whelmig generosity and care and interest that he bestowed on my work. Dr. B.Narasimhaiah, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India was kind enough to supply readily the photographs of the monuments required. I am deeply indebted to him for this help. Dr. M.D.Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist, Office of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore has rendered me a great service by reading several original paper and palm leaf manuscripts which I have used in this work and also by so kindly going through the typed manuscript. Dr. P.M.Joshi, Bombay, was kind enough to permit me to study the Persian manuscripts in his collection that are of an inestimable value to this work. I owe him my heartiest thanks for this noble gesture. I am extremely grateful to the authorities of the University of Mysore for their having so graciously permitted me to publish this thesis. I also thank the authorities of the Institute of Kannada Studies, Manasa Gangotri, Mysore, Oriental Library, Mysore and the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras for all their kindness and assistance. My heart-felt thanks are also due to Shri V.T.Chandi, Senior Surveyor and Shri R.Vinayagam, Surveyor, Archaeological survey of India, Madras Circle for preparing the maps provided in this work.

Lastly I am extremely grateful to Dr. D.V.Devaraj, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Karnataka, Mysore, who readily under took the task of publication of this work with much "privilege" and "pride" and brought out the same in a short time on top priority basis

A.Satyanarayana

Mysore
Dated: 28.12.1995

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ABBREVIATIONS

Annals : *Ananals of the Mysore Royal Family*
Anc. Ind. : *Ancient India*
Andhra Va. Bha. : *Andhra Vachana Bharatamu*
A.O.R. : *Annals of Oriental Research*
A.V.C. : *Apratima Vira Charitam*
Bel. go. cha. : *Balagolada Gommatesvara Charitre*
C.Bi. : *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam*
C.Vam. : *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali*
C.Vi. : *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam*
Div. Su. Cha. : *Divya Suri Charita*
E.C. : *Epigraphia Carnatica*
F.A. : *Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi*
Gi. Go. : *Gita Gopalam*
H.N. : *Haidar Namah*
Had. Dhar. : *Hadibadeya Dharma*
Hasti Maha. : *Hastigiri Mahatmya*
H.I.S.I. : *Historical Inscriptions of South India*
H.N.M. : *History of the Nayaks of Madura*
I.H.R.C. : *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*
I.M.C. : *Inscriptions of the Mackenzie Collection*
I.M.P. : *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*
J.I.H. : *Journal of Indian History*
J.O.R.S. : *Journal of the Oriental Research*
Journey : *A Journey to Madras through the country of Mysore*
Kam. Mah. : *Kamalachala Mahatmya*
Kam. Ni. : *Kamandaka Niti*
K.N.V. : *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*
Kar. Jana Ji. : *Karnataka Jana Jivana*
K.A.V. : *Kalale Arasugala Vamsavali*
Ke. N.V. : *Keladi Nripa Vijayam*
Kar. Ka. Cha. : *Karnataka Kavi Charitre*
M.C. : *Maddagiri Charitre*

Mad. Or. Lib. : *Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*
M.N. : *Muhammad Namah*
M.R. : *Modern Review*
Mun. Vam. : *Muni Vamshabhyudaya*
M.A.R. : *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department*
Mys. Do. Pur. : *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara*
Mys. Do. Vam : *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali*
Mys. Gaz. : *Mysore Gazetteer*
Mys. Nag. Pur. : *Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara*
Mys. Raj. Cha. : *Mysuru Raja Charitre*
Or. Lib. Mys. : *Oriental Library, Mysore*
P. : *Paper Manuscript*
P.L. : *Palm Leaf Manuscript*
Pasch. Rang. Maha. : *Paschima Ranga Mahatmya*
Pra. Kar. : *Prabuddha Karnataka*
Q.J.M.S. : *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*
Raj. Katna. : *Rajavali Katha*
Sabha. Pa. : *Sabha Parva*
Sach. Nir. : *Sacchudrachara Nirnaya*
Sel. Pesh. Daft. : *Select Peshwa Daftars*
Shi. Nib. : *Shivaji Nibandhavali*
S.I.I. : *South Indian Inscriptions*
Sources : *Sources of Vijayanagara History*
Sriranga Maha. : *Sriranga Mahatmya*
Tuzak : *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*
Venk. Maha. : *Venkatagiri Mahatmya*
Yad. Mah. : *Yadavagiri Mahatmya*

INTRODUCTION

The present study is an attempt to bring into focus the entire historical phenomena of a small kingdom from its rise to maturity. The study offers us a typical test case of the forces in our medieval history that helped the rise, growth, expansion, ascendency and decline of political units. These forces happen to conform to a general pattern in most of the cases. The feudal age had a tendency to destabilise the existing system, which would create a political vacuum that would offer the scope for ambitious persons to carve out small principalities. The necessity for law and order and the presence of leadership with required political and military skill would act as the germinating seeds for new kingdoms. Overlooking these factors, a good deal of historical legends had caused a cobweb of theories about the origin of the Wodeyars, which have been examined in depth in this study, and an attempt is made to explain on the basis of fresh evidence what must have been the real factors for the rise of this dynasty.

The origin inevitably leads to its growth and expansion. Here again a general pattern emerges. It is a historical fact which only a few have noticed that it was only Karnataka which witnessed the rule of certain dynasties for centuries. For example, a single dynasty, the Gangas of Talakad, was in power for over 700 years, from the middle of the fourth century to the end of the eleventh century. Likewise, many other dynasties such as the Satavahanas, the Kadambas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar rulers, had much longer innings than the dynasties of the North, whether the Mauryas or the Sungas or the Kushanas or the Guptas or the Vardhanas or the Khiljis or Syeds or Lodis or the Mughals. So also, the Wodeyars, whose origin is traced to 1399 were continuously in power for 550 years until 1947, with an interregnum of 40 years of rule by Haidar and Tipu. Their rule from 1799 to 1947 was subject to British paramountcy which had retained the substance of authority yielding only the shadow of power. This study which deals with only the first phase of the history, until the rise of Haidar in 1748, offers us an interesting spectrum in respect of the growth of an important dynasty.

The real builders of the dynasty were rulers like Raja Wadeyar, Chamaraja Wodeyar and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar who were all men of great foresight and vigor, and who not merely consolidated their power, but also pushed the dynasty to an impressive level of glory. Their career gives us an insight into their policies, which in the growth phase, successfully met the challenges of the time to make Mysore a dominant power in the South by the middle of the eighteenth century, when its help was sought in the Carnatic War. That position was attained by a steady growth over the centuries, when a small principality had first to subdue all its neighbouring feudal lords, and then had to confront bigger powers such as the Vijayanagar rulers, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Marathas. The very fact that the Wodeyars out-lived all these powers, and survived until the middle of the 20th century speaks volumes as to their sagacity, diplomacy, valour and will, to face the realities of life.

The survival of any dynasty would not depend upon military strength alone, although any weakness in that sector would surely hasten its downfall. Along with military prowess a dynasty should have rulers with political acumen together with administrative ability to build a strong social, economic and cultural base which would ensure its positive role. Fortunately the rulers of Mysore were cast in this mould, offering us a refreshing breeze of innovative measures that brought relief to the people. The Wodeyars have gained reputation as enlightened rulers, who were concerned for the welfare of their people. They are also known as patrons of art and culture, as promoters of agriculture and craft, and as upholders of justice and order. The administrative system they evolved became the foundation for all the later developments which earned for Mysore the title of a model State in the 20th century. This study has attempted to explain the administrative structure which was brought about by the ceaseless efforts of the Wodeyars.

The first part of the study is devoted exclusively to the political and military affairs, the origin and rise of the dynasty, the extension of its power, expansion of its kingdom, its dynamic role in the troubled situations of the time and its crossing of swords with the mighty rulers of the contemporary world. The second part is devoted to the discussion of the administrative machinery, the economic and social condition, art, culture and life of people, thus giving a comprehensive look of the entire role of the Wodeyars.

Over the years the methodology of historical research has greatly changed in India. it is no longer concerned in merely offering descriptive and narrative catalogue of events. A critical analysis of forces at work behind the events appears to be the main technique of every researcher. Indian history offers limitless scope for this, with its vast span both in space and time of varied forces, political, social, economic and cultural which weaved a tapestry of unique design in our land. An impression is created of our medieval history, particularly of mediaeval Karnataka history that it was static, that it had lost all its dynamic force, and that all that was good and great was concentrated in the earlier period of the Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas or Hoysalas. This is not entirely true. This study has thrown significant light on the unique features of development during the mediaeval period. The society in medieval Karnataka was changing, evolving and progressing in several ways. The monotheistic *Bhakti* movement with social egalitarian outlook with dignity of labour was by itself a momentous change. The type of political institutions that developed, the pattern of social structure that emerged, the economic system that was built up, the creative and cultural life that stirred the imagination of the people, were all significant aspects that are touched in this study. A good part of Karnataka which came under Wodeyar rule was vibrant, dynamic and creative, disproving the association of our medieval society, with changelessness. In every sector of life-polity, economy, society, art, architecture, literature, language, music and religion, Karnataka witnessed at this time, momentous changes. This study is an attempt to present a comprehensive view of those changes as brought about by a renowned dynasty of our land.

CHAPTER I

RISE AND GROWTH

Origin of the Dynasty:

The rulers of Wodeyar dynasty played an important part in the history of South India. This dynasty arose over the debris of the Vijayanagar empire. After the battle of Talikota the empire passed through a very critical period causing anarchy and discontent which facilitated many of the feudatories to carve out independent kingdoms. The kingdom of Mysore is one of such petty principalities which came into existence under the troubled conditions of the empire. This kingdom is thus a post Talikota entity and its regular history may be said to date from 1610 A.D. when Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatana. This change of power in the Karnataka viceroyalty at Srirangapatana is an important factor in the history of Mysore as it marks the beginning of its role as an independent kingdom. After the occupation of Srirangapatna, Raja Wodeyar and his successors steadily extended their territory taking advantage of the difficult conditions of the Vijayanagar empire and built up a strong kingdom. Finally, when the empire became extinct, the political centre of gravity gradually tilted to Srirangapatna where the Wodeyar rulers held the reins of power and became the political successors of the emperors of Vijayanagara in this part of Karnataka. The rise of this dynasty to power marks an interesting chapter in the history of South India.

The origin of the dynasty is a complicated question. This is because of paucity of evidences on the subject. Though the dynasty was founded in the last quarter of the 14th century A.D. we know very little of its history through contemporary sources till we come to the period of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III (1513- 1553). We have some later literary and epigraphical sources that embody some tradition relating to the origin of this dynasty. We have to see how far this tradition is historically authentic. Some modern scholars however associate the founders of this dynasty with some South Indian dynasties like the Kakatiyas of Warrangal or the Yadavas of Devagiri. Let us briefly examine these theorities in the light of the available data and try to know the actual circumstances leading to the origin and foundation of the dynasty.

These theories of origin of the dynasty may be studied under the following three heads namely:

1. The Shrivaishnava or the legendary origin theory.
2. The Jaina origin theory.
3. The foreign origin theories.

1. The Shrivaishnava or the legendary origin theory:

This theory traces the descent of the family in the lineage of Yadu of the legends who belonged to the Lunar race. The chief exponent of this theory is Govindavaidya the court poet of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-59 A.D.)[1] and it is further adopted by Tirumalaraya and his followers who belonged to the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[2] The same legend is echoed in some of the inscriptions of the late 17th century.[3] These inscriptions vaguely mention that some princes of the line of Yadu came from Dvaraka to Melukote in Mysore in order to worship their family God, Narayana, and their descendants are later said to have gone to Mysore from where they began to govern the kingdom.

We have some manuscripts belonging to a still later date relating to the history of this period. Many of these manuscripts also embody this tradition. Most important of these manuscripts is the *Mysuru Nagarada Purovottara* (1740 A.D.).[4] The story as narrated in this manuscript is briefly as follows. Once two princes Vijaya and his brother Krishnaraya of the Lunar race came from Dvaraka to the king of Vijayanagara who proposed to give them the territory to the south of the river Kaveri in Karnataka to administer.[5] Accordingly the brothers came to the Srirangapatana region and were resting at a place called Hadadana near Mysore. About this time the chief of that place one Shanta Wodeyar had renounced the world due to some dejection in life and had gone away leaving behind, his wife and a daughter in distress.[6] Profiting by the absence of the ruler, the latter's dalvoy Mara Nayaka of Karugahalli became powerful, usurpad all royal powers and even plotted to marry the princess so as to give an appearance of legality to his usurpation. Vijaya was distressed to know the situation of the queen. He volunteered to help her by heading the palace party which had plotted to kill Mara Nayaka. And accompanied by a loyal *jangama* priest that negotiated the transactions relating to this conspiracy he went to the palace where he slew the dalvoy and thus saved the queen and her daughter from the impending danger. Vijaya then married the princess and became the lord of Mysore and the progenitor of the Wodeyar dynasty.

The Mysuru Raja Charitre of Venkataramaniya of about 1800 A.D. and another anonymous manuscript entitled the *Mysuru Samasthanada Doregala Parampare* of about the same date give us an abridged version of this story.[7] The same story is narrated in the *Mysore Palace Records* with some divergent details.[8]

A still earlier manuscript *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* which is an authentic and one of the earliest of the manuscripts dealing on the history of Mysore is silent regarding the origin and foundation of the dynasty. This manuscript however gives us the chronology of some of the early rulers of the dynasty.

Let us now examine this theory in a critical manner. The story of the origin of the dynasty as narrated by Govinda Vaidya and in the inscriptions of the period is too vague. These works merely trace the origin of the Wodeyar dynasty to the family of Yadu of Dvaraka who belonged to the Lunar race. But these sources furnish very little chronological or genealogical details relating to the foundation of the dynasty. Besides, Dvaraka was outside the Vijayanagar empire and these authorities do not mention how these persons could go and found a new kingdom in a land that never belonged to them. It is inconceivable how people could simply go about and start governing new kingdoms. These accounts never read like history but appear to be imaginary and incredible. These are obviously later innovations intended to invest the family with epic fame.

The story as stated in the *Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara* that the kingdom of Mysore was gifted by the emperor of Vijayanagar to the kings of Mysore is also not supported by contemporary epigraphical evidence. In all their grants almost down to the first half of the 17th century the kings of Mysore invariably introduce or invoke the emperor of Vijayanagar as their sovereign. Especially Raja Wodeyar and his successors mention in many of their grants Srirangapatna as a permanent estate granted to them by Venkatapati Raya the king of Vijayanagar.[9] Such being the case the Mysore rulers would surely acknowledge the gift of the king of Vijayanagar in all humility and gratefulness if the kingdom (of Mysore) were bequeathed to them by the king of Vijayanagar, or the latter himself would get the grant confirmed by a copper plate charter duly authenticating the same by his signature and the royal seal as was the practice in all such land deeds in those days. The absence of this important point in all their extant records makes it probable that the kingdom of Mysore was never a gift of the emperor to the Mysore Rajas and that the latter were in all probabilities the sons of the soil formerly ruling here as feudal chieftains under the Vijayanagara emperors. Even if we assume that the Mysore kingdom was gifted to the progenitors of the Wodeyar rulers by the sovereign of Vijayanagar, the place gifted consisted in its original extent not even the present city of Mysore. It looks too strange how the emperor could make such a sordid grant of land at so distant a region as Mysore for a person hailing from Dvaraka in the north.

Besides, this theory of legendary descent is only alluded to in the inscriptions of the dynasty from the late 17th century onwards and the early epigraphs of these rulers are silent on this subject. A few of their records belonging to the earlier years simply refer to the kings of this dynasty as belonging to the *`Atreya Gotra'*, *`Asvalayana sutra'* and *Rik sakha.*[10] But in none of these records do we get any reference to this story of their origin till we come to the middle of the 17th century A.D. Curiously enough this date coincides with the date of Govindavaidya, the chief propagandist of the theory of Shrivaishnava origin which was later popularised during the reigns of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and his successors. Thus, there is no distinct proof in support of this theory. It is only a tradition created purely on sectarian grounds several centuries after the dynasty was founded when the Shrivaishnava religion had started penetrating into the court of Mysore. And over this legend a voluminous literature grew up in the late 17th and 18th centuries by which time the Shrivaishnava religion had become the avowed faith of the Rajas of Mysore. Thus, this story of the Shrivaishnava or the legendary origin of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore is linked with the advent of the Shrivaishnava religious faith into the kingdom of Mysore in the 17th and 18th centuries. But it is not a historical fact substantiated by any contemporary evidence. Rev. Fr. Heras dismisses this theory as "more a poetical figment than a historical fact".[11] Hayavadana Rao also observes, that the linkage of the origin with Shrivaishnavism only kept pace with the parallel growth of the kingdom and the spread of Shrivaishnavism in the state in the 17th and 18th centuries.[12]

2. The Jaina Origin Theory:

The Jaina tradition embodied in the *Rajavalikatha* of Devachandra of about 1858 A.D. gives us a different version of this story.[13] According to this authority one Arasu of the Yadava descent came from Vijayanagara and settled at *Kumbara Koppal* (Potters' colony) in Mysore. He married a woman of the potters' community and shortly after died leaving behind, his wife and a daughter who was about to be married forcibly to a member of the *Toreya* community - A community of lower social status. But the situation was averted by the sudden arrival of three sojourners, Devaraja, Timmaraja and Shantiraja, who were the descendants of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana of the Yadu dynasty. The brothers, according to this theory, came here in search of a kingdom, rescued the lady and became the lords of Mysore. Later, Devaraja was slain by the *Toreya* chief Mara Nayaka who had taken into his hands all the powers of the king. However, Mara Nayaka was ultimately put to death by Devaraja's son Raja Wodeyar who inaugurated the main line of rulers in Mysore with the help of his Jaina adherents.

Of the three theories the Jaina tradition differs mainly in terms of its subject matter from the story recorded in the inscriptions and literary works. Devachandra's entire work is biassed in favour of the Jaina religion. He does not appear to be seriously recording the facts of history. There is no chronology in the historical details given by him and the whole story is confused without any logical sequence. In many places Devachandra's account appears to be too imaginary. For, he says that the founders of the dynasty came to Mysore in search of a kingdom. But we seldom hear of persons going in search of kingdoms. Further, this author appears to be inventing purely some imaginary characters who are not at all historical persons. His story of the origin of the Mysore Dynasty is not corroborated by any other evidence and this author merely seems to be fabricating the story only to attribute a Jaina origin to the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore.

3. Foreign Origin Theories:

Modern scholars associate this dynasty with some of the South Indian ruling dynasties that are also stated to have belonged to the Lunar race. Wilks considers them to be the descendants of the Yadavas of Devagiri.[14] S.K. Aiyangar presumes that they might either be the fugitive princes of the overthrown Hoysala family or the Kakatiyas of Warrangal.[15] Hayavadana Rao identified them with the Yadavas of Devagiri on the authority of the *Gijjiganahalli copper plate grant* of 1639 A.D. of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I.[16] There is a verse in this inscription which reads as "the glorious kings of the banks of the Godavari, formerly sent with honour again obtained the Karnataka portion of the earth to protect it".[17] Hayavadana Rao identifies these kings of the Godavari with a branch of the Yadavas of Devagiri. He interprets the statement 'again obtained the Karnataka portion of the earth' in this inscription, as having been for long out of power after the destruction of their kingdom, these Yadava rulers again obtained permission of the emperor of Vijayanagar to proceeded to the south and to establish their sway in Mysore.

These theories of foreign origin advanced by Wilks and other modern scholars also lack sufficient corroboration. For, on epigraphical grounds we find that from very early times Mysore formed a geographical unit or a small feudal sub-division and was known as *Maisunad* or *Maisurnad* even in ancient times. A study of the political geography of this area, especially in the 14th and 15th centuries, reveals that several local chiefs and representatives of the Hoysala and Vijayanagara families were ruling in different parts of this region as provincial governors under the Vijayanagara sovereigns and we have practically no evidence to show any foreign family coming here and establishing a new kingdom.

Besides, etymologically also some of the names of the kings of Mysore like Vijayaraya, Chamaraja, Bettada Chamaraja, Bola Chamaraja, Devajammanni and so on, are purely local names common only in these parts and are not met with either in the Kakatiya dynasty or among the Seunas. Thus, their personal names show that they were of the Kannada stock. Their mother tongue was Kannada. For, their earliest inscriptions are in Kannada script and language of the type prevalent in these areas during those days.

A critical analysis of the origin requires a comparative study of the sources. When we compare these sources we find that most of these authorities agree on three points namely, first, that the founders of the dynasty were great patrons of the God Narayana of Yadugiri (Melukote) in the Mandya district. Secondly, all these authorities connect the progenitors of the Wodeyar rulers of Mysore with the Yadavas. The earlier authorities namely Govinda Vaidya, Tirumalarya, Timmakavi and others including the inscriptions associate the founders of the dynasty with the legendary Yadu of Dvaraka of the Lunar race in which was born Shri Krishna. The modern scholars connect them with the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri. Thirdly, all the authorities on the subject maintain that the Wodeyar rulers of Mysore belonged to the Lunar race.

Regarding the first point, that the founders of the dynasty of Mysore were great devotees of the God Narayana of Melukote we notice that this God Narayana is only a local deity but not widely known so as to attract devotees from different regions of the country. Therefore, we see no genuine reason in persons living hundreds of miles away from this place like Devagiri, Warrangal or Dvaraka claiming this deity as their tutelary God. On the Otherhand, this intimate association of the progenitors of the Wodeyar rulers with Narayana of Melukote suggests a close proximity of these persons to the Melukote region. In other words, their patronage of God Narayana at Melukote indicates that the progenitors of the Wodeyar dynasty might have originally belonged to this place or some part near about it. In this connection the *Gajjaganahalli grant* seems to offer some useful clues which would help us to fix the foundation of the dynasty within a fairly well defined chronological limit. This epigraph speaks of the founders of this dynasty as belonging to a family of dis-inherited rulers.[18] Thus, it looks very probable that a dynasty of chieftains who had formerly lost their kingdom and were then living round about Melukote region professing to belong to the Lunar race must have founded a new kingdom at Mysore. This shows the untenability of the Legendary and the foreign origin theories which connect the founders of this dynasty with the family of Yadu of Dvaraka of the legends and the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri respectively. Who then are these dispossessed rulers so closely connected to Narayana of Melukote and to rebuilding of a kingdom at Mysore? They must have also belonged to the Lunar race. Because this point is unanimously stressed by all the authorities that deal with the origin of the dynasty.

Let us see if any royal fugitives belonging to the Lunar race were formerly living somewhere in the Melukote region claiming Narayana of that place to be their family God. According to Rice, after the sack of Dvarasamudra by Muhammad Tughalaq in 1327 A.D. the city was completely demolished and Ballala retired to Tondanur (Tonnur near Melukote) which continued to be the seat of an enfeebled power for about 50 years.[19] Elliot and Hultzsch also suggest that the Hoysalas ruled over the Tonnur area as local chiefs after the fall of Dvarasamudra and even attribute a type of coins to these chieftains.[20] We do not hear of any other fugitive rulers living in this region during the last years of the 14th century excepting the Hoysalas of Tonnur. It therefore looks fairly presumable that the statement "again obtained the Karnataka portion of the earth" occurring in the *Gajjiganahalli plates* has an obvious reference to these Hoysala chieftains, who, having been thrown out of power at Dvarasamudra, were then living at Tonnur. Having thus settled at Tonnur so near to Melukote for about 70 years by that time, there is no wonder that these chieftains patronised God Narayana which was in fact originally installed by their predecessor Vishnuvardhana at Melukote which was even the capital of the early Hoysalas. It must also not be lost sight of the fact that Devachandra, the author of the *Rajavalli katha,* also connects the founders of the kingdom of Mysore with a collateral branch of the Hoysalas.[21] The epithet 'kings of the Godavari region' *(Godavari Tirabhupala)* which we find in the *Gajjiganahalli plates* therefore seems to be a literary flourish or a complementary title the like of which is normally found in the case of the kings of most of the South Indian dynasties in various inscriptions. For instance, an inscription from Chamarajanagar belonging to 1512 A.D. styles by way of flattery even a chief of Ummattur as 'Lord of Saurashtrapura'.[22] The title occurring in the *Gajjiganahalli plates* is very likely a conventional eulogy by means of which the author of the copper plates tries to glorify the ancestors of the Wodeyar dynasty by giving them an august descent.

It appears from the above discussion that the Tonnur Hoysalas are in all probability the progenitors of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. However, before coming to this conclusion, we have now to satisfy one more requirement in this connection. That is, we have to prove that these fugitive rulers belonged to the Lunar race. Hoysala rulers also really belonged to the Lunar race. Because this fact is very well borne out by many of the epigraphical records which contain the genealogy of the Hoysala dynasty.[23]

The theory of Shrivaishnava origin is a mere legendary story that has no historical truth in it. The question of the origin of the dynasty depended upon the confused political conditions prevailing in Mysore and the ambition of the local chiefs to expand their respective territories and to grow more and more powerful. The disturbances prevailing in Mysore after the death of Chamaraja Wodeyar provided an opportunity for ambitious chieftains in the neighbourhood to rise to power. It is unlikely that persons living in distant regions like Dvaraka could make use of this opportunity as it was purely a local affair. Yadu, who was a promising local chieftain, could avail this opportunity and acquire more power and fame.

Who then is the founder of the dynasty? Unfortunately neither the earlier writers dealing on the subject nor the inscriptions of the period give us the answer. Here we have only to depend on some legends enshrined in some of the literary works belonging to the 18th century. According to the Mysore Palace Records it is Yadu who founded the dynasty.[24] But the *Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara* which is an earlier source makes Vijaya the founder of the dynasty. How are we to reconcile these divergent views? But a significant clue is provided in this connection by a manuscript quoted in the *Mysore Palace History itself.*[25] This authority maintains that Vijaya also borne the name Yadu. It is thus presumable that Yadu, also called Vijaya in the *Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara,* is the historical founder of the dynasty. We have just seen that the Tonnur Hoysalas are the progenitors of the line of kings in Mysore. And according to the *Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara* Vijaya is the founder of the dynasty. If so, this Vijaya might have been a scion of the Hoysalas and was possibly the chief of that clan then settled at Tonnur. Because of his intimate association with God Narayana of Yadugiri (Melukote) the subsequent writers might have called him as Yaduraya after Yadugiri (Melukote) and by way of exaggeration they have spoken of his ancestors as belonging to the clan of Yadu of the legends.

In conclusion we may sum up the historical probably about the origin of the dynasty. During his stay at Tonnur as the head of the fugitive Hoysala family, Vijaya might have come to know the lamentable tale of Devajammanni as narrated in the *Mysuru Nagarada Purvottara.* He proceeded there along with his brother Krishnaraya to help the queen in her distress. Here he slew Mara Nayaka and thus saved the queen from the threatened indignation. It is probable that Vijaya's expedition to Mysore had the approval of the emperor of Vijayanagar. Or it is even more likely that the emperor himself voluntarily asked Vijaya to proceed to Mysore and to save the honour and dignity of the dowager queen Devajammanni and her daughter. The phrase "sent with honour" *(sadaram preritah)* occurring in the *Gajjiganahalli plates* seems to be of much relevance in this context. The view endorsed by most of the authorities that the brothers, Vijaya and Krishna, came to the Mysore region through Vijayanagar must have a bearing on this point. The prince accomplished his task successfully. The princess thus rescued offered her willing hand to her saviour Vijaya who became heir to the former's patrimony and thus inaugurated a new line of kings in Mysore.

The date of the foundation of the Wodeyar dynasty is also another complex question in the history of Mysore. Because evidences on this subject are too inadequate. The early literary sources and the epigraphs are silent on this question. We have therefore to look to the later literary sources for determining this point. According to the tradition embodied in the

Mysore Palace Records the dynasty was founded in 1399 A.D.[26] But we hear nothing about the rulers of this dynasty through any contemporary source till we come to the period of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III (1513-1553 A.D.). This ruler is found mentioned in all the epigraphical records of the late 17th and 18th centuries that give us the pedigree of the dynasty. These inscriptions are very vague. They merely state that some persons belonging to the family of Yadu came from Dvaraka to the South in order to worship their family God Narayana (Ramaramana) at Yadugiri (Melukote). Seeing the beauty of the land they never preferred to go back. Some of their descendants are later said to have gone to Mysore from where they began to rule. In that family was born Bettada Chamaraja. The manner in which these inscriptions refer to Bettada Chamaraja clearly indicates that his ancestors were already ruling at Mysore. But none of these predecessors of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar is mentioned in any of the extant epigraphical records of the dynasty. According to the *Mysore Palace Records* Bettada Chamaraja III ruled from 1513 to 1553 A.D.

Apart from figuring in the later epigraphical records of the dynasty, Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III is also known to us from some contemporary inscriptions which corroborate to a great extent the dates assigned to this Raja in the *Mysore Palace Records.*[27] If the traditional year of 1399 A.D. recorded in the *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali* (Geneological Chart) and the *Mysore Palace Records* as the year of foundation of the dynasty is taken to be true, we have to bridge a gap of 114 years between the foundation of the dynasty and the accession of Bettada Chamaraja III to the throne. We have seen that the kingdom of Mysore began as a small principality. But the inscriptions referring to Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III speak of him as an important ruler and a brave warrior. He also bore some royal tiles like *Birudantembara Ganda* and had established matrimonial relations with many of the neighbouring ruling dynasties. Thus we see that by the first half of the 16th century the kingdom had grown in size and stature. Building up the kingdom and extending it could not be the work of a single individual. The kingdom would require sufficient time to grow up from its humble origin and to come to the light of history. Surely Bettada Chamaraja might have been preceded in the dynasty by some rulers who must have also made sufficient contributions in bringing up the image of the kingdom. These predecessors of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar are not mentioned in the epigraphs of the period. This is probably because they were purely local chieftains or feudal fiefs perhaps under the control of the Governor of Terakanambi or Hadinad. The kingdom had not yet attained sufficient political status to figure in contemporary history. Who then are these ancestors of Bettada Chamaraja III that have not come to the light of history ? We have to depend only on the later literary sources for the answer. The *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudayavivara* (1710-1714 A.D.) mentions Timmaraja Wodeyar and his son *Arboreal* Chamaraja Wodeyar thereby pushing the genealogy back by two generation.[28] We understand from Venkataramanaiya (1800 A.D.) that this Timmaraja and his son *Arberal* Chamaraja were the grand-father and father respectively of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III.[29] Venkataramanaiya further makes this Timmaraja Wodeyar (grand father of Bettada Chamaraja III) son of Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja Wodayar I. According to this authority, Bettada Chamaraja I was the son of Yadu whom we have identified with Vijaya the founder of the dynasty.[30] Thus, we now have:

1. Vijaya also called Yaduraya
   Son
2. Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar I
   Son
3. Timmaraja Wodeyar
   Son
4. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar II also called *Arberal* ChamarajaWodeyar
   Son
5. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III

This is also the pedigree of the dynasty met with in the *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali* (Genealogical chart) which is further supported by the *Mysore Palace Records* and the *Lotus progeny* in the Jaganmohan Palace, Mysore.[31]

For the regnal years of these rulers we have to depend only on the authority of the *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali* and the *Palace Records.* We have seen above that the reign period of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III assigned to him in the *Mysore Palace Records* is to some extent corroborated by contemporary epigraphical evidence. On the basis of this confirmation, the testimony of the *Palace Records* regarding the regnal years of the predecessors of Bettada Chamaraja III may also be taken to be authentic. Thus, the gap of 114 years intervening between Vijaya the founder of the dynasty and the accession of Bettada Chamaraja III to the throne must have been covered by the four rulers referred to above. In the light of the above discussions and in the absence of any contradiction on the subject the traditional year of the foundation of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore namely 1399 A.D. as embodied in the *Mysore Palace Records* may be regarded as probable.

EARLY HISTORY

Yaduraya or Vijayaraya:

Yadu also called Vijaya appears to the founder of the dynasty. The only source of information of the history of this period are the chronicles of the 18th and 19th centuries. Yadu probably ruled over the little villages of Mysore and Hadadana. The year of his birth according to the *Palace Records* is 1371 A.D.[32] The same authority gives him a rule of 25 years from 1399 to 1424 A.D, Yadu was a contemporary of Harihara II (1377-1404 A.D.) and Deva Raya I (1406-1422 A.D.) of Vijayanagar. The imperial representative in the Mysore area south of the river Kaveri during this period was one Achanna Wodeyar mentioned in a record of 1398 A.D.[33] We further learn that Narayanadeva son of *Maha Mandalesvara* Mallappa Wodeyar, brother of Harihara II, was the ruler of Ummattur principality during 1396-97 A.D.[34] Harihara III son of Devaraya I was possibly the Governor of Terakanambi when Yaduraya was the Raja of Mysore.[35]

Yadu had two sons by his wife Devajammanni namely Hiriya Bettada Chamarasa Wodeyar and Hiriya Chamarasa Wodeyar.[36] He was a great devotee of Narayana of Yadugiri where he built a fort and renamed the palace as Melukote.[37]

Wilks writes that after slaying Mara Nayaka, Yaduraya assumed the title `Wodeyar' and adopted the *Jangama* faith in recognition of the services rendered by a *Jangama* priest in taking possession of Mysore from the usurper dalvoy Mara Nayaka.[38] Wilks possibly thinks that this suffix Wodeyar is a corrupt form or the term *vader* which generally applies to a priest in the Lingayat community. But the validity of Wilks' view can not be substantiated by other sources. For we see that the immediate predecessor of Yadu of Mysore namely Chamaraja also bore the title Wodeyar which was in fact the family name of the kings of Mysore. Besides, Wilks' observation about the change of faith by the Mysore rulers is also not corroborated by any other evidence.

Yadu died in the year 1423 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar.[39] Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja I ruled till 1459 A.D. when he was succeeded by his son Timmaraja Wodeyar. This Timmaraja is also called Appanna Timmaraj.[40] This is the first ruler of Mysore mentioned in the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara.*[41] His rule lasted for 19 years from 1459 to 1478 A.D.[42] He died in 1478 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Hiriya Chamarasa Wodeyar II. According to the *Palace Records,* Chamarasa was born in 1464 A.D.[43] He was surnamed *Arberal* Chamaraja Wodeyar (six fingered).[44] He ruled for 35 years upto 1513 when he was succeeded by his son Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja III.[45] These chiefs were feudal vassals of the sovereign of Vijayanagar and were possibly under the administrative control of the Vijayanagar viceroy at Terakanambi. Their territory or the estate was very small in extent. It consisted of more or less the present city of Mysore. Thus even as feudal vassals they were insignificant chieftains. Their only duty was maintenance of law and order within their area and rendering of some military assistance to their liege lord - the emperor of Vijayanagar- in times of war.

Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III (1513-1553 A.D.) is also called Vijaya Chamarasa Wodeyar.[46] He is one of the most important of the early rulers of Mysore and is mentioned in many of the later inscriptions next to Yadu in the line of succession.[47] The names of the rulers intervening between Yadu (Vijaya) and Bettada Chamaraja are however omitted in all these inscriptions. He is thus the first ruler of Mysore known to authentic history. According to the *Palace Records* he ruled for a period of 40 years from 1513 to 1553 A.D.[48] It is during this reign that Mysore came to the light of history and established definite matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring rulers of the period. We have a lithic record which registers a gift of the villages Nannigahalli and Minnanahalli to one Timmaraja Wodeyar of Mysore by Channodeyar and Mallaraja Wodeyar of Hura.[49] Rice wrongly assigns this inscription to 1611 A.D. But Channodeyar and Mallaraja Wodeyar mentioned in this inscription are the sons of Madhavanayaka of Hura - 1527-1548 A.D. Mallaraja Wodeyar is also known to us from another record of 1559 A.D. and Channodeyar is mentioned in an inscription of 1569 A.D.

belonging to his son Nanjaraja Wodeyar.[50] Thus, from the epigraphical evidence it is clear that Mallàraja Wodeyar and his brother Channodeyar cannot be taken later than 1569 A.D. after which date they are not heard of. Rice therefore appears to be wrong in assigning the inscription to 1611 A.D. when we do not hear of any of the rulers of Hura bearing these names. We know from the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* that Hiriya Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III was also known by the name Timmaraja Wodeyar.[51] The *'Ashtagramagala Kaifiyat'* also makes one Timmaraja Wodeyar father of Bolachamaraj Wodeyar. It therefore seems very likely that Timmaraja Wodeyar of Mysore mentioned in the Nannigahalli record is none other than Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III, father of Bolachamaraja Wodeyar of Mysore.[52] Hayavadana Rao also says that the date of the Nannigahalli epigraph (*Virodhikrit Je. Su.* 5) corresponds to 10, May 1551 A.D. and identifies Timmaraja of this record with Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III of Mysore.[53]

We learn from Venkataramanaiya that Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar married Alagajamma also called Gopajamma, daughter of Channarajaiya of Kote and had by her, three sons namely Timmaraja Wodeyar, Krishnaraja Wodeyar and Chamaraja Wodeyar.[54] Wilks refers to a partition of his little kingdom by Bettada Chamaraja among his three sons.[55] To the eldest Timmaraj he gave Hemmanahalli, Kembal and some other villages were given to Krishnaraj while to the third son Chamaraja was given Mysore.[56] It was further arranged that Timmaraj should succeed his father and Chamaraja to rule after him. It is not stated in the records why Krishnaraja was excluded from the will.[57]

We hear of a grant of land made by one Timmaraja Wodeyar as recorded in the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara.*[58] Wilks ascribed this grant to Timmaraja Wodeyar (II) son of Bettada Chamaraja III.[59] But the cyclic year *Khara* mentioned in the manuscript corresponds to 1548 A.D. when Bettada Chamaraja III was still ruling (1513-1553 A.D.). Besides, the manuscript makes Timmaraj the donor father of Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar. All authorities agree that the father of Bola Chamaraja was Bettada Chamaraja III. According to the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara,* Bettada Chamaraja III also bore the name Timmaraja Wodeyar.[60] This view is also in conformity with the *Ashtagramagala Kaifiyat.*[61] It is therefore very likely that the grant of Tippur to the temple of Cheluvaraya Swami at Melukote quoted in the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* belongs to the period of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III but not to the time of his son Timmaraj II.

It must be observed here that Bettada Chamaraja III was wrongly identified with Virappa Wodeyar of Srirangapatna. Paes refers to one 'Cumara Virya' (Kumara Viraiya) who was the king of Srirangapatna and a contemporary of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar.[62] The same authority further tells us that one of Krishnadeva Raya's principal queens was the daughter of this 'Cumara Virya' who was a great favourite of the emperor. Nuniz also writes that the king's (Krishnadeva Raya's) father-in-law was the lord of Srirangapatna and that he assumed the command of the forces of Krishnadeva Raya during his Raichur expedition.[63] Sewell identifies this 'Cumara Virya' with Bettada Chamaraja III of Mysore.[64] But this identification does not appear to be correct. For, Mysore, during this period, was a small principality and had practically no authority over Srirangapatna which came under the Wodeyar rule only in 1610 A.D. during the period of Raja Wodeyar. Further, this 'Cumara Virya' is said to be the father-in-law of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar. But, we do not have any evidence to show that either Bettada Chamaraja III or any other member of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore was ever related to Krishnadeva Raya by matrimonial alliance.

Who then is 'Cumaravirya' mentioned by Paes? During Krishnadeva Raya's campaign against Ummattur in 1510-11 A.D., its chief Gangaraja fell and Krishnadeva Raya subdued this territory and constituted it into a new province with Srirangapatna as its headquarters. He also appointed one Virappa Wodeyar son of Chikkodeyar as the ruler of Srirangapatna province.[65] This Virappa Wodeyar is mentioned in two other records and is identical with the son of Gangaraja of Ummattur whom Krishnadeva Raya defeated.[66] Gangaraja also bore the epithet *Chikkaraya (Chikkodeya).*[67] Besides, Virappa Wodeyar's rule (at Srirangapatna) exactly coincides with that of Krishnadeva Raya at Vijayanagar. Therefore, this Virappa Wodeyar (son of Chikkodeya) of Srirangapatna may, without doubt, be identified with 'Cumara Virya' of Paes. Sewell therefore, is wrong in identifying this 'Cumara Virya' or Virappa Wodeyar with Bettada Chamaraja III of Mysore.

The importance of the reign of Bettada Chamaraja can be assessed by the fact of his assuming the title *Birudantembara Ganda*. During his reign the kingdom of Mysore started gradually growing in importance. We find the kings of the dynasty also began to acquire slowly some royal titles in keeping with their growing political status and the ancient traditions of the country. And for the first time in the history of Mysore we see Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III assuming some conventional titles like *'Birudantembara Ganda'* (Master of title holders) that signifies a respectable political status. But the authorities greatly differ on the authorship of this title. According to Tirumalarya this title belonged to Bettada Chamaraja III.[68] We have certain epigraphical records which also ascribe this title to this ruler.[69] But some other sources of equally trustworthy nature attribute this epithet to Timmaraj Wodeyar (II) (1553-1572 A.D.) the eldest son of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III. Prominent among them are Chikkupadhyaya and Timmakavi the famous court poets of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704 A.D.). This view is further substantiated by epigraphical evidence as well.[70] Even Venkataramanaiya, the *Palace Records,* Devachandra and Wilks also support the latter theory.[71] since these divergent opinions are expressed by equally important authorities, the difference can only be reconciled by explaining that the title which was a matter of doubt during Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III's reign was firmly asserted during the time of his son Timmaraj (II).[72]

Bettada Chamaraja died in 1553 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Timmaraj II in accordance with the testament already noticed.[73] The *Palace Records* give him a rule of 19 years from 1553 to 1572 A.D.[74] The feudal tendency to conquer more lands and expand one's own territorial limits is noticeable during this reign. This zeal to expand and to grow stronger among the feudal lords became a more and more powerful factor in the politics of Mysore in the later years till all the neighbouring feudal chieftains in Mysore came under the central authority by the middle of the seventeenth century. Timmaraj II secured the sole right to the title *'Antembara Ganda'* which was possibly not fully asserted during the previous reign.[75] This king is also said to have protected the rulers of Sinduvalli and Hunasanal and acquired the title *Monegara.* He married Kempammanni daughter of Mangappa Wodeyar of Kote-Toravalli and had by her a son named Bettada Wodeyar.[76]

Timmaraja Wodeyar was succeeded in 1572 A.D. by his younger brother Chamaraja Wodeyar. He was called Chamaraja the bald or (*Bola* Chamaraja Wodeyar) because, a stroke of thunder had hit him once during his boyhood and had burnt all the hair on his head.[77] This king ruled for four years from 1572 to 1576 A.D.[78] He had four sons, Raja Wodeyar and Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar through the elder wife Virajammanni and Deva Raja Wodeyar (*Muppina* Devaraja Wodeyar) and Channa Raja Wodeyar through the younger consort Devajammanni.[79] Bolachamaraj was a contemporary of the Vijayanagar kings Tirumala I (1570-73 A.D.) and Sri Ranga I (1573- 1586 A.D.) Tirumala's son Rama or Ramarajaiyadeva (Rama III) was the Governor of the newly constituted Srirangapatna viceroyalty and was Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar's contemporary in Karnataka.[80]

A study of the extant sources seems to suggest that the viceroy and Bola Chamaraja did not see eye to eye with each other. The differences were in fact so much that we once even hear of an open conformation between the two. Some of the literary works speak of the in-efficiency of the viceroy and his in-capability to check the recalcitrant activities of Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar who successfully evaded the taxes due to the viceroy.[81] The *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* tells us how the viceroy made certain unsuccessful attempts to seize Bola Chamaraja in order to punish him.[82] All these indicate want of efficiency in the Viceregal Government. Rama Raja was in Penukonda in 1573.[83] Taking advantage of the absence of the viceroy, Bola Chamaraja seems to have shown signs of territorial expansion in the neighbouring areas.[84] Enraged by these acts, Rama Raja sent an army against Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar under his dalvoy Venkatadri Nayaka of Tore-Mavinahalli. But, Bola Chamaraja repulsed the forces of the viceroy, and Rama Rajaiya was forced to sue for peace by ceding Kaluve-Kottagala to Mysore.[85] *Bola* Chamaraja seems to have followed this success and considerably enlarged his territory. For, we learn from the *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali* that already by about 1576 A.D. this Raja had become an overlord of 33 villages.[86] This seems to be indirectly confirmed by an inscription of 1635 A.D. which states that the fame of Bola Chamaraja had widely spread consequent on his victories in wars.[87] The *Gajjiganahalli plates* call him *Apratita Vikramah*[88] (a man of great valor). The *Dalvoy Agraharam copper plate grant* of 1749 A.D. and the *Halagere plates* of 1663 A.D. echo the same feeling.[89] Thus we see that the struggle of Mysore for hegemony in Karnataka had its beginning in the reign of Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar himself. Raja Wodeyar further intensified this struggle and laid the foundation for the later advancement of Mysore.

Bola Chamaraja died in 1576 A.D. and was succeeded by Bettada Wodeyar, son of Timmaraja Wodeyar, eldest son of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III. This king ruled only for a period of two years upto 1578 A,D. when he was deposed by the elders of the land on account of in-efficiency.[90] He was followed by Raja Wodeyar the eldest son of *Bola* Chamaraja Wodeyar.

Growth of the Kingdom under Raja Wodeyar:

The reign of Raja Wodeyar is very important in the history of Mysore, for it is Raja Wodeyar who laid the foundation for the later greatness of Mysore and gave to the kingdom a respectable status in Karnataka. He was born on 2 June 1552,[91] and his coronation took place in 1578.[92]

The study of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar may be divided into three phases namely:

i) from his accession to the siege of Kesare by Tirumala in 1596.
ii) from 1596 to the fall of Srirangapatna in 1610.
iii) from the fall of Srirangapatna to the death of Raja Wodeyar in 1617.

First Phase:

Raja Wodeyar was a contemporary of the Vijayanagar kings, Sriranga I 1573-1586 and Venkata II 1586-1614. Rama III, the viceroy, and his son Tirumala II were Raja Wodeyar's contemporaries at Srirangapatna. The last inscription of Rama III belongs to 1581 A.D.[93] He seems to have died some time round about that date leaving behind, his two infant sons Tirumala II and Ranga III. They were brought up at Penukonda by their uncle Venkata II and the administration of the viceroyalty was conducted by the dalvoy Ramati Venkataiya down to 1584.[94]

Tirumala seems to have assumed charge of the viceroyalty in about 1585. A study of his inscriptions in the Karnataka region reveals two distinct features. One is that these grants do not mention the traditional pattern of reference to the emperor. In some of these inscriptions Tirumala is given imperial titles without any reference to the ruling king at all while in a few other records reference is first made to the ruling king at Penukonda with all imperial titles and Tirumala is styled *Maha mandalesvara* which signifies a subordinate status. The other feature of these grants is that in later years of Tirumala's rule we have, in Srirangapatna region, a series of inscriptions issued by Venkata II the king of Vijayanagar in which Tirumala's name does not figure at all and the grants are made by Venkata himself. Though Rev. Fr. Heras says that the rule of Tirumala as viceroy of the Karnataka region could not be "Stigmatised as either weak or fictitious" the unusual invocations made in the inscriptions make one feel that the relation between the king and the viceroy was not cordial.[95]

The study of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar is to be made with particular reference to the relations of the viceroy with the king at Penukonda on the one hand and the Raja of Mysore on the other. For, it is this factor that greatly influenced the political developments in the Karnataka viceroyalty and ultimately paved the way for Raja Wodeyar to rise to power in

Mysore. The king at Penukonda was from the beginning very indifferent and maintained an attitude of neutrality towards the viceroy. Raja Wodeyar, on the other side, took full advantage of the strained relations of the king and his nephew, enlarged his territory and strengthened his position. He maintained a semblance of loyalty towards the viceroy and evaded the taxes due to the latter on some pretext or the other.[96] Wilks writes that Raja Wodeyar was "alternately in arms against the viceroy and received with favour at the court".[97] Tirumala was too weak to check the recalcitrant activities of Raja Wodeyar. Taking advantage of the weakness of administration in the Viceregal capital, Raja Wodeyar followed a policy of expansion which resulted in the annexation of the territories of the neighbouring poligars. In 1584 he acquired Akkihebbal from Narasimha Nayaka of Hole Narasipur.[98] Tirumala was so weak that he could neither give protection to his feudal fiefs against Raja Wodeyar's expansionist activities nor was he in a position even to safeguard his own territories against such encroachments by the Raja of Mysore. For, we learn that in 1585 Raja Wodeyar wrested from Tirumalarajaiya the viceroy, Rangasamudra along with its 12 dependent hamlets.[99] In 1590 he defeated Deparaja Wodeyar and acquired Kambal.[100] Mullur was annexed in 1591 A.D.[101]

There is a break in Tirumala's inscriptions in Srirangapatna region from 1592 to 95. We learn from Tirumalarya, the court poet of Chikkadevaraja Wideyar, that the king Venkatapati once sent an army under the viceroy Tirumala to quell a rebellion which broke out at Madura. The absence of Tirumala's inscriptions in his viceroyalty between 1592 and 1595 indicates that he was probably engaged in the war with Virappa Nayaka at Madura during this period. Tirumalarya further tells us that instead of discharging the duty entrusted to him at Madura, Tirumala defected to Virappa from whom he received bribes and returned to Srirangapatna where he even set up a standard of revolt against the king of Vijayanagar.[102] Thus, Tirumala brought upon himself the retribution of the king Venkata for his indifferent performance. Raja Wodeyar was cleaver enough to turn all these developments to his own advantage.

This absence of the viceroy from the capital from 1592 again afforded a favourable opportunity to Raja Wodeyar to carryout his expansionist designs. The principle governing these military activities was the concept of overlordship. Raja Wodeyar wanted to make the best use of the weak rule of Tirumala at Srirangapatna in order to expand his kingdom by acquiring more territory. This ambition to acquire land resulted in mutual rivalry among the different chiefs. This was the trend of the period. In 1593 Raja Wodeyar occupied Harohalli and in 1595 obtained Narunelli from Mallaraja Wodeyar.[103] In 1595 Virarajaiya of Karugahalli invaded Mysore with a strong army. Virarajaiya was a kinsman of the Raja of Mysore. This chief was jealous of the growing power of Mysore. The growing strength of Mysore was a source of danger to the security of Karugahalli. The policy of expansion followed by Raja Wodeyar created in the minds of the minor chiefs a sense of insecurity. These poligars would naturally seek the help of some outside powers to save their existence. The policy of expansion thus created hostile power sectors. This was an important characteristic feature of the feudal society. Accordingly the expansionist design of Raja Wodeyar created a fear complex in the mind of the chief of Karugahalli. He therefore sought the intervention of Tirumala the viceroy and invaded Mysore in 1595. But Raja Wodeyar defeated him in an encounter near the Chamundi hill and annexed Karugahalli to Mysore. This incident was considered to be a great achievement of Raja Wodeyar as Virarajaiya had, in this campaign, the moral and material support of the viceroy of Srirangapatna.[104] Besides, Virarajaiya was a traditional rival of Raja Wodeyar and had previously made several unsuccessful attempts to kill the latter.[105] This victory is therefore hailed by all the subsequent writers as a great accomplishment of Raja Wodeyar and is found mentioned even in several later inscriptions of the dynasty.[106]

Second Phase:

The siege of Kasare in 1596 in which Raja Wodeyar defeated Tirumala the viceroy is an important episode in Raja Wodeyar's career. There were two factors that compelled Tirumala to undertake this military action against Mysore. They were, first we understand from the *Mysore Palace Records* that during his military action against Virappa Nayaka, Tirumala had solicited the help of his vassal Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.[107] But Raja Wodeyar turned down this request. By his refusal to send assistance to Tirumala, Raja Wodeyar incurred the displeasure of the viceroy. Secondly Tirumalarya, the court poet of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704), tells us that on Tirumala's return from Madura to Srirangapatna the chiefs of Karugahalli, Kannambadi, Talakad and Ammachavadi who had suffered at the hands of Raja Wodeyar intrigued at the court of the viceroy and sought his support against Raja Wodeyar's expansionist policy.[108] These rebellious acts of Raja Wodeyar and the latter's unwillingness to help Tirumala in his war against the Madura Nayak evoked the resentment of the viceroy. Finally when Tirumala's efforts to capture Raja Wodeyar by means of a strategem failed, Tirumala decided to send a punitive expedition to Mysore. Accordingly in the year 1596, he laid siege to the fort of Kesare dependent of Mysore.[109] Battles were fought at Kerehatti, Satyagala, Hanchaya, Satgalli and Belavatta near Mysore. Tirumala suffered heavy reverses in all these places. Finally, the Mysore army defeated at Kodiyala near Srirangapatna another part of the viceregal army, which was led by the chiefs of Talakad and Ammachavadi and foiled Tirumala's attempts to take the fort of Kesare. Being thus unsuccessful in his attempt Tirumala was compelled to raise the siege and to retrace his steps in utter discomfiture.

The defeat of Tirumala was a morale booster to Raja Wodeyar. There after, Raja Wodeyar turned more and more refractory. He refused to pay the usual tribute. Next, an attempt was made by the viceroy to kill Raja Wodeyar. But Deparaj one of Raja Wodeyar's nephews killed the assassin at the nick of the moment and averted this ill-conceived design.[110] in 1606 Raja Wodeyar took Arakere and shortly after, Bannur from Nanjarajaiya of Talakad[111] and in 1608 acquired Kannambadi from Prabhu Dodda Hebbaruva.[112]

The period was really bad to Tirumala the viceroy. His defeat by his own vassal at Kesare must have sufficiently undermined his prestige. It is significant to note that the king Venkata never sent any assistance so his nephew (Tirumala) when Raja Wodeyar had thus revolted against him. The viceroy's unfaithful conduct at Madura was possibly the cause of

Venkata's apathy towards him. Venkataramanaiya even writers that Tirumala once applied to the king Venkata for help, but the appeal was rejected by the latter.[113] Thus, Tirumala was badly let down by his uncle the king of Vijayanagar. These circumstances were encouraging to the other poligars in the Mysore region who were aiming at self- advancement. We learn from the *Mysore Palace Records* that certain powerful chieftains under the viceroyalty namely Krishnappa Nayaka of Belur, Virarajaiya of grama, Balalochana Nayaka of Yelandur, Mallarajaiya of Ummattur and other poligars formed a confederacy at Kunigal with the sole object of capturing Srirangapatna itself. Raja Wodeyar knew that such a union of powers would be dangerous to his own safety and for the implementation of his schemes of annexation. He therefore proceeded to Kunigal where he defeated the confederate forces and acquired much booty.[114]

Tirumala's affairs now headed towards a great crisis. His own vassals began to flout his authority and even took their arms against him. We are even told that when Tirumala was once passing through Hole Narasipur on his way to Srirangapatna along with his dalvoy Bhadraiya and some other officers, he was captured by Lakshmappa Nayaka, the chief of Hole Narasipur, and was kept in confinement.[115] Events again played into Raja Wodeyar's hands. Tirumala's position become so awkward that he was obliged to appeal to Raja Wodeyar for help.[116] Raja Wodeyar now got a timely opportunity to rise his hands against Lakshmappa who was one of the most powerful chieftains in the Karnataka viceroyalty. On receipt of the news Raja Wodeyar proceeded with his army to Hole Narasipur, defeated Lakshmappa Nayaka and released Tirumala and other captives.[117]

Venkatapati Raya now seems to have come out in open to reward Raja Wodeyar for his services to the cause of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. In recognition of his help, Venkatapati bestowed on Raja Wodeyar, the villages of Aldur and Navilur in the Tayur *nad* of the Ummattur kingdom and Konagalli and other villages belonging to sosale *sthala* in Bannur region as rent free estates.[118]

We now see Tirumala hemmed in from all sides. He could expect no succor from Venkata the king of Vijayanagar, he had no friends, his own dependents refused to acknowledge his authority, his province was sufficiently reduced in size and Raja Wodeyar of Mysore was becoming more and more powerful. Besides being cool and unhelpful to Tirumala, Venkata even made liberal grants to Raja Wodeyar, who was a great rival of the viceroy. Thus it is apparent that Venkata was trying to let down his nephew for some reason or other. The period was unfavourable to Tirumala Raya.

Acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar:

In this background let us now study the question of the conquest of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar. This is one of the most important events not only in the history of Mysore, but also in the history of Vijayanagar as a whole. For this event completely upset the political balance in the west of the empire and ultimately paved the way for the rise of Mysore as an independent kingdom in the south. Raja Wodeyar occupied the viceroyalty in the year 1610. We have two theories relating to the mode of the fall of the viceroyalty. They are first, the theory of conquest and secondly, the theory of a bloodless or a non-violent change of authority in the viceroyalty. The former school is represented chiefly by Govindavaidya and Tirumalarya the court poets of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659) and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704) respectively. To the latter school belong the chronicles of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The earliest authorities on this subject like the *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* the *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* and the *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam* refer to a military campaign led by Tirumala Raya which ultimately resulted in the defeat of the viceroy himself and Raja Wodeyar's succession to power in the Karnataka viceroyalty at Srirangapatna. These works connect the fall of Srirangapatna with the viceroy's attack on Kesare in 1596. The court poets seem to imply that the siege of Kesare ultimately resulted in Raja Wodeyar's occupation of Srirangapatna.

But the chronicles dealing on the subject echo a non-violent change of authority at Srirangapatna. This event as narrated in the manuscripts completely differs from the accounts of the court poets. The story as stated in the different manuscripts is briefly as follows:

According to the *Mysore Palace Records,* Sriranga Raya (?) was afflicated with royal boil *(Rajapoora)* and seeing that his end was nearing, he sent for Raja Wodeyar and bestowed upon him the throne and the kingdom on 8 Feb. 1610. After thus bequeathing the kingdom (to Raja Wodeyar) the viceroy proceeded along with his wives Alamelamma and Rangamma and other relatives to Talakad, where he died sometime later.[119]

Another manuscript entitled the *Dynasty of Kalale* states that Sriranga Raya (?) of Srirangapatna suffered from carbuncle. He decided to go on pilgrimage to some only places like Tirumakudalu and so on in order to get rid of his disease. Now looking out for a person who could look after the viceroyalty in his absence he sent for Raja Wodeyar of Mysore and handed over the viceroyalty to his charge on the condition that he might govern the territory so long as the viceroy remained on pilgrimage; but in the event of the later's death, he said, the province might be handed over to his (viceroy's) cousin the chief of Ummattur. Accordingly Sriranga set out on his pilgrimage. he died shortly after. Thereafter Raja Wodeyar strengthened himself at Srirangapatna and succeeded to the viceroyalty on Thursday 8 February 1610.[120]

We have yet another version of the story as embodied in the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyadaya Vivara.* According to this authority, Venkatapati sent the royal order *(Rajanirupa)* through some of his officers directing Tirumala to relinquish his authority and to make over charge of the viceroyalty to Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. However, this authority does not specify the reason why Venkatapati sent this order of abdication to the viceroy. But we see that all the chronicles unanimously maintain that Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna without a war. But, there is some disagreement among these authorities regarding the circumstances that led to the change of administration in the viceroyalty.

Let us examine these theories in a critical manner. Govinda-Vaidya and Tirumalarya give a general picture of the achievements of Raja Wodeyar with particular reference to the siege of Kesare by Tirumala in 1596 and the fall of Srirangapatna which occurred in 1610-the two great and well-known events in Raja Wodeyar's reign.[121] The court poets do not touch any incident that occurred in between these two dates in Raja Wodeyar's reign. Besides, these authors do not narrate the incidents in their chronological order bur jumble the events in a poetical style. Their main object appears only to present Raja Wodeyar as a military conqueror. They therefore jump from Tirumala's attack on Kesare to the acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar as if the latter incident was the direct result of the viceroy's military action on Kesare. These authors do not also specify the dates of any of the events they recorded however important they might be. The *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* assigns the siege of Kesare to 1596.[122] This date also seems to be corroborated by Tirumalarya who suggests a gap of 20 years between the siege of Kesare by the viceroy and Raja Wodeyar's death which occurred in 1617.[123] Thus, there was probably a hiatus between the viceroy's action on Kesare and the fall of Srirangapatna. By way of literary flourish the court poets seem to connect these two events with one another in a poetic language, merely to extol Raja Wodeyar as a conqueror.

The chroniclers give us three different versions of the mode of change of government in the viceroyalty. They are (1) the voluntary gift or bequeath theory contained in the *Mysore Palace Records* (2) the conditional offer theory as enunciated in the *Kalale Kaifiyat* and (3) the theory of *Rajanirupa* as embodied in *the Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara.* It is hard to accept the gift theory in the light of the hostilities between Tirumala and Raja Wodeyar. It is inconceivable that Tirumala would ever gift way the viceroyalty to such a rebellious feudatory and a great rival like Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Wilks also rejects this theory on the ground that the "strained relations that existed formerly between the viceroy and Raja Wodeyar and the successive attempts of Tirumala to remove Raja Wodeyar by assassination do not admit any such supposition".[124] Besides, Tirumala was only a subordinate of the emperor and could never exercise any such sovereign right of gifting away the viceroyalty itself to another person. There could be no propriety in his action even if he would make any independent arrangements with a third person for the administration of the viceroyalty. For, such a right is only the prerogative of the ruling king.

As to the conditional offer of the viceroyalty, we have no evidence to show that Tirumala was ever suffering from such a disease when Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna. The story of the fatal cancer, as Devachandra writes, refers to Sriranga I of Vijayanagar (1573-1586) who was actually afflicted with this disease and spent his last days in Srirangapatna.[125] The chroniclers also mention in their accounts the name of the viceroy of Srirangapatna as Sriranga when the viceroyalty fell in 1610. This is clearly erroneous as we see in the whole history of this viceroyalty there was no viceroy bearing the name Sriranga. Epigraphical source points to the rule of Tirumala in Srirangapatna at the time of Raja Wodeyar's occupation of this place. The chroniclers are therefore wrong in mentioning Sriranga as the viceroy when Raja

Wodeyar took over Srirangapatna, as the events recorded by them relate to the time of Tirumala II. The story of the cancer disease, as we have just seen, is applicable to the king Sriranga I. Therefore, the view that the great disease finally led Tirumala voluntarily to retire entrusting the charge of the viceroyalty to Raja Wodeyar, does not bear adequate justification.

We have now the theory of *Rajanirupa* which points out that Venkatapati Raya sent the Royal order to Tirumala to abdicate and to make over the charge of the viceroyalty to Raja Wodeyar. Judged by the circumstances this theory appears to be more plausible. In order to understand the truth of this statement we must have to study the conditions that prevailed in the viceroyalty on the eve of Raja Wodeyar's occupation of Srirangapatna. We have seen above that Venkata and his nephew Tirumala did not see eye to eye with each other. The attitude of Venkata towards Tirumala during the latter's tenure as viceroy, further supports this inference. How is it an able warrior like Venkatapati Raya remained a silent spectator when Raja Wodeyar was carrying such ruthless aggressions in the Karnataka viceroyalty? Why did Venkata not send any assistance to Tirumala, the viceroy, when he attacked Kesare in order to punish the recalcitrant feudatory Raja Wodeyar of Mysore? Further when Tirumala was imprisoned by the chief of Hole Narasipur Venkatapati asked Raja Wodeyar to arrange to release Tirumala. Here the king Venkatapati subjected the viceroy to greater humiliation by getting him released by a person who had rebelled against the viceroy himself and against whom the viceroy had even sought imperial aid. Heras writes that it was Venkata's interest to punish Tirumala before his subjects by showing him as incapable of defending Srirangapatna against his opponent Raja Wodeyar. Venkata was possibly convinced that Tirumala was unfit to continue in the Government and therefore seems to have silently planned his supersession by a policy of indifference. This indifference of the king of Vijayanagar was an indirect encouragement to Raja Wodeyar. Not only Venkata did not give any assistance to Tirumala but also never cared to take any action to check the recalcitrant activities of Raja Wodeyar. Besides this, in approbation to the conduct of Raja Wodeyar, Venkatapati even made him liberal gifts when Raja Wodeyar liberated Tirumala from his captivity at Narasimhapura.[126] It is thus likely that Venkata allowed the state of affairs at Srirangapatna to get embroiled in order to snatch the viceroyalty which was already slipping away from the hands of the viceroy. Raja Wodeyar, on his apart, conducted the affairs in such a manner that he won the approval of the king of Vijayanagar for his acts of expansion and was even considered worthy of safeguarding the imperial interests in the Karnataka viceroyalty.

It is interesting to see in this connection that some court poets of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar write that Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna by employing "great skill" and "wonderful tactics". But they never refer to any war waged by the Raja of Mysore for taking possession of the viceregal capital.[127] These references seem to imply that Raja Wodeyar's occupation of Srirangapatna was not preceded by any military action but was only a culmination of a long series of incidents resulting in the silent expulsion of Tirumala and Raja Wodeyar's occupation of Srirangapatna.

We have certain inscriptions belonging to the time of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and his successors which suggest that Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna after defeating Tirumala in a war. But these inscriptions are very good examples of the *prasastis* of the period. The introductory parts of these epigraphs containing the pedigree of the kings and the titles of the earlier rulers are identical in all these records as they are stereotype copies of the *Devanagara grant* composed by Ramayanam Tirumalarya one of the court poets of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[128] While giving the genealogy of the king in the introductory part of this epigraph the poet gives us a general account of the titles and achievements of the earlier rulers of the dynasty, as an introduction to the study of his patron Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. This part of the epigraph is euologistic in character. Here the author praises Raja Wodeyar in the usual court style as having acquired Srirangapatna after defeating Tirumala.[129] And this statement is borrowed by the composers of many other records.[130] These expressions are thus mere conventional eulogies not supported by strong contemporary evidences, being mere copies of the *Devanagaram grant.* Besides none of these records gives us any details of the war allegedly fought by Raja Wodeyar to take Srirangapatna. These are obvious over statements and are only to be taken as mere eulogies in the light of the other authorities in the court of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, referred to above.

In conclusion we may say that the emperor was never satisfied at Tirumala's performance as the head of the province. Venkata was by now possibly convinced that the continuance of an incapable viceroy like Tirumala any longer, would endanger the viceroyalty. For, after the battle of Talikota the kingdom of Vijayanagar become a prey to repeated Shahi attacks. In 1573 the Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur came to an understanding to extend their conquests in the Vijayanagar empire, each in a different direction and each agreed to respect the acquisitions of the other.[131] The Bijapur line of action was to the south of the empire. These developments must have perturbed the king of Vijayanagar. The king was also probably apprehensive that the weak and inefficient rule of Tirumala at Srirangapatna would tempt the Sultan of Bijapur to advance still further into the south of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Venkata must have therefore been anxious to keep the Karnataka viceroyalty in the hands of a person who was really capable of safeguarding the imperial interest in this area. S.K.Aiyanar writes that "the emperor must have felt that the viceroyalty was, from the imperial point of view, so very much better even in the hands of an ambitious chieftain whose patriotism was likely to keep the aggressive Muhammadans at arms length".[132] It is presumably under these conditions, as we hear from the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara,* that Venkata issued the *Rajanirupa* or the royal order directing Tirumala to step down where upon Raja Wodeyar was asked to succeeded to the viceroyalty with all promises of protection *(Abhayahasta nirupa).*[133]

This story of *Raja nirupa* is corroborated by epigraphical evidence also. There is a reference to a copper plate grant from T.Narasipur which refers to Raja Wodeyar as ruling at Srirangapatna on the authority of the *Nirupa* of Venkatapati. This inscription which belongs to the year 1612 has unfortunately not come down to us. But it is luckily referred to in a grant of 1622 belonging to the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar V (1617-1637). It is thus a contemporary reference to the story of *Raja nirupa* and is a very valuable support of this theory as embodied in the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara.*[134] It is interesting to note that Tirumalarya also refers to *Rajanirupa.*[135] But here the poet plays upon the language by showing that the emperor issued the proclamation after the flight of the viceroy to Malangi when Raja Wodeyar had already occupied Srirangapatna. This seems to be a chronological error committed by the author only to show that Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna through prowess. There was certainly no need for the king to send the order of abdication to Tirumala after he had already vacated his seat. Wilks says that "The acquisition of Srirangapatna in 1610 A.D. is related in different manuscripts with a diversity of statement which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel".[136] This 'intrigue', as Rev. Fr. Heras says, is the same as the story of *Rajanirupa* which compelled Tirumala to retire.[137] Heras further writes that "finally yielding to the advice of his countries and secretly admonished by Venkata, Tirumala quietly retired to Talakad".[138] Thus, a critical study of the different sources only indicates that on finding Tirumala incapable of managing the viceroyalty Venkata issued the Royal order to the viceroy to abdicate and asked Raja Wodeyar to take over the administration of the viceroyalty. It was in these circumstances that the kingdom of Mysore was born and received the blessings of the emperor for its prosperous growth.

Thus passed peacefully into the hands of the Mysore Rajas the Karnataka viceroyalty of Srirangapatna. After the retreat of Tirumala to Talakad, Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna apparently with the consent of the emperor and filled the vacuum caused by the exit of Tirumala to Talakad.[139] In 1612 there occurred another event of far reaching importance in the political history of Mysore. That was the royal confirmation of the grant of Srirangapatna to Raja Wodeyar. It is said that in that year the emperor issued a copper plate charter conferring on Raja Wodeyar, Srirangapatna as a hereditary estate.[140]

Third Phase:

The acquisition of Srirangapatna increased Raja Wodeyar's thirst for territory and fame. Having expelled Tirumala from Srirangapatna Raja Wodeyar naturally desired to take all the territory that depended upon the viceroyalty of Srirangapatna. Formerly these feudal vassals had the support of Tirumala, the viceroy. Now with the flight of the viceroy these local chieftains lost their overlord and supporter. But, after the fall of Srirangapatna they never acknowledged the overlordship of Raja Wodeyar. This concept of overlordship and his ambition to acquire territory, brought Raja Wodeyar into clash with the local poligars. Shortly after the acquisition of Srirangapatna Raja Wodeyar launched a series of attacks on these local chiefs and brought many of these poligars under his authority. Raja Wodeyar had now secured the legal sanction to sit on the throne at Srirangapatna and to carry on the administration of the viceroyalty. Shortly after the acquisition of Srirangapatna, Raja Wodeyar was engaged in a tough military action in the Hadinad region whose ruler Nanjarajaiya was a great rival of Raja Wodeyar for supremacy in Mysore. The chief of Hadinad was also an ally of the ruler of Madura who was another rival of Raja Wodeyar. In 1614 and 1615 Raja Wodeyar launched a series of campaigns in Hadinad region and annexed several places dependent on this principality like Ummattur, Terakanambi, Haradanahalli, Mugur and Ramasamudra.[141] The chief of Tagadur offered voluntary submission to Raja Wodeyar in the same year.[142] The loss of these settlements reduced the power of the poligar of Hadinad and correspondingly increased the power and prestige of the Raja of Mysore.

After consolidating his acquisitions in Hadinad region, Raja Wodeyar turned towards the kote province. In 1615 he acquired Hura from Srikantha Wodeyar and Nanjaraja Wodeyar, sons of Lingapadaiya and brought part of this province also under his control. The chain of conquests in the Mysore region was completed with the acquisition of Talakad, Hullahalli and Bilikere in 1615.[143] These rulers voluntarily submitted to the Raja of Mysore. Raja Wodeyar formally annexed these territories to his kingdom and reinstated those rulers in their respective provinces and assessed the tribute due from each.[144]

The Karnataka viceroyalty of Srirangapatna comprised of the province of Channapatna and the principality of Ikkeri as well. Now having occupied Srirangapatna the rulers of Mysore would like to acquire these two principalities also. For, acquisition of Srirangapatna would be incomplete without the conquest of these territories. This process also had its beginning in the reign of Raja Wodeyar himself. For, we learn from the *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali* that in the year 1615 he entered the territory of Channapattana where he made a series of acquisitions like Neralekare, Muttikere, Chinya, Dudda and Pampapura, all in the present Nagamangala taluk, which belonged to Jagadevaraya.[145] Late in the same year Raja Wodeyar made further inroads in the Channapattana kingdom and wrested Kikkeri and Hosaholalu from the same ruler.[146] In 1617 he attacked Nanjunda Arasu of Piriyapattana and annexed Mavattur to Mysore.[147]

Raja Wodeyar is an important personality of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. By his military prowess he was able to bring under his control a large part of the present Mysore district which was divided into a number of petty principalities. He also organised an efficient administrative machinery which was capable of maintaining law and order in the kingdom. To Raja Wodeyar belongs the credit of expanding the limits of the kingdom of Mysore and laying the foundation for its future growth. He passed away at Melukote on 20 June 1617.[148]

REFERENCES

1. K.N.V., 111, 2 to 16.
2. *C. Vam.*, pp. 11-12.
3. A few of these inscriptions tracing this Legendary descent of the Wodeyar dynasty are *E.C.*, XII (old edition) Kg. 37 (1663), IV (old edition) Yd. 54 (1666), V, My. 99 (1674), IV, Ch. 11 (1675), VI, Sr. 64 (1686), pp. 99 (1722), 215 (1724), 216 (1725), V, Kn. 117 (1741), IV, Ch. 291 (1744), V, Tn. 16 (1749) and so on.
4. Pp. 24-26.

5. But none of these sources gives us either the date of the visit of these princes to the Mysore region or the name of the king of Vijayanagar who is said to have sent them here. According to the tradition recorded in the genealogical chart *(mysuru Doregala Vamsavali)* the dynasty was founded in 1399. This date is corroborated by the *Mysore Palace Records.* Devachandra however mentions the Saka year 1336 (1414 A.D.) as the year of the foundation of the dynasty *(Raj. Katha.,* XII, pp. 446-449). This date coincides with the reign of Deva Raya I of Vijayanagar (1406-1422). Though Devachandra's date does not corroborate the legendary date of 1399 his statement at least helps us approximately to check the relevancy of the legend relating of the origin of the dynasty.

6. The reason for this renunciation of the kingdom by this king is not stated in the MS. Wilks also (hist. 1, p. 40) depending on this MS. Simply writes that the king was mentally deranged. But this voluntary retirement of the king is not substantiated by any other authority. The *Mysore Palace Records (Annals,* 1, p, 6) which make Chamaraja Wodeyar the king of Mysore, however state that this king had died leaving behind, his wife and a daughter.

7. *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 15; *MAR.,* 1934., p. 54.

8. *Annals,* 1, pp. 1-11.

9. *EC.,* V, Tn. 15 (1622); III (Old edition), Sr. 157 (1614). See also *EC.,* V, Tn. 50 (1615) which mentions Bannur also as a grant made by Venkatapati the king of Vijayanagar to Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.

10. *EC.,* VII, Mu. 64 (1623); 108 (1623), IV, Ko. 52 (1659); V, My.

    92 (1660); VII, Mu 34 (1663); III, Nj. 124 (1663); VI, Kp. 65 (1665); Sr. 23 (1665); V, My. 100 (1665); XII (old edition), Kg. 17 (1669); IV, Hs. 32 (1669); III, Hg. 16 (1670); V, Tn. 139 (1673); My. 213 (1685) and so on.

11. *Aravidu Dynasty,* p. 181.

12. *Hist.,* 1, p. 30.

13. Pp. 285, 288, 446 and 449.

14. *Hist.,* 1, p. 38.

15. *Anc. Ind.,* p. 275.

16. *Hist.,* 1, pp. 25-28.

17. *EC.,* IV, Nj. 212, ii, L. 29-31.

    Purvam Godavaritirabhupala bhuri tejasah etat purvair mandalendraiah sadaram preritah punah Patum karnatabhubhagam praptah pratita tejasah !

18. *EC.,* IV, Nj. 212, 11. 30-31. *Punah patum Karnatabhughagam praptah* (Again obtained the Karnataka portion of the earth).

19. Rice, *Mys. Gaz.*, II, p. 278; *Mys. and Cg.*, p. 79; *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, part II, p. 1401, V, p. 861.

20. *CSI.*, p. 81; *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 304.

21. *Raj. Katha*, pp. 454-455.

22. *EC.*, IV, Ch. 231.

23. *EC.*, VI, pp. 39, Ng. 81 and so on.

24. *Annals*, 1, *op.cit.*

25. *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 86-87 (ms. in the possession of Shri Muddarajurs)

26. *Annals*, 1, pp. 4, 11.

27. *EC.*, V, My. 200, 1551 A.D. (Virodhikrit). *The Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* also mentions a grant of the village Tippur to God Cheluvaraya at Melukote by this king. This grant which is said to have been made in the year *'Khara'* corresponding to 1548 A.D. has unfortunately not come down to us.

28. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, 1, p. 1.

29. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 15.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Annals*, 1, pp. 13-15; *MAR.*, 1938, pp. 49-50.

32. *Annals*, 1, p. 4.

33. *EC.*, IV, Ch. 261.

34. *Mys. Gaz.*, 11, iii, p. 1526.

35. *EC.*, IV, Ch. 372, III; Gu. 78 both belonging to 1422 A.D.

36. *Annals*, 1, p. 4 and 12. The *Mys. Nag. pur.* also mentions only one consort of Yaduraya namely the princess of Mysore.

37. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 15; *Annals*, 1, p. 12; *`Mysuru Samasthanada Doregala Parampare'* in *MAR.*, 1936, p. 54.

38. *Hist.*, 1, p. 40.

39. *Annals*, 1, p. 12.

40. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, 1.1. ii. 58. Wilks (*Hist.*, 1, p. 41) wrongly identifies this Timmaraja Wodeyar with Timmaraj II (the eldest son of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III-1513-1553 A.D.)

41. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, ii. 58.

42. *Annals*, 1, p. 13.

43. *Annals*, 1, p. 14.

44. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, op.cit.; Wilks, *Hist.*,1, p.41; *'Mysuru Samsthanada Doregala Purampare'*, op.cit.; *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, 26.

45. *Annals*, 1, p. 14; S. 1401 year *Vilambi jyes su.* 5. Wilks fixes his succession wrongly in 1507 A.D. (*Hist.*, 1, p. 41).

46. *KAV.*, p. 2.

47. *EC.*, VI, pp. 214, 99, 215; Sr. 24; V, My. 99 and so on.

48. *Annals*, 1, pp. 14-15; *Lotus Progeny* in MAR., 1938, p. 50.

49. *EC.*, V, My. 200.

50. *EC.*, III, Hg. 75 and 84.

51. *Mys. Do. pur.*, 1, 72.

52. *EC.*, V, My. 200.

53. H.V.Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 34, f.n. 23.

54. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 16; *Annals*, 1, p. 14; Raj Katha, XII, p. 449. This Channarajaiya is probably the same as Channaraja Wodeyar son of Singappa Wodeyar of Kote mentioned in (*EC.*, III), Hg. 111 (1517); VI, Sr. 24 (1686), pp. 99 (1722), 214 (1647 A.D.)

55. *Hist.*, 1, p. 41; *Annals*, 1, pp. 14-15; *Raja. Katha*, op.cit. But S.K.Aiyangar regards this distribution as a mere settlement of the patrimony in accordance with the custom but not a partition of the kingdom since all other parties were subordinated to the ruler at Mysore (*Anc. Ind.*, p. 277).

56. The *Annals*, 1, p. 15 mention that it is Bettada Wodeyar, son of Timmaraja Wodeyar who got Hemmanahalli. But this statement is not in conformity with the other acceptable sources.

57. But, Tirumalaraya (*C. VI.*, ii, 10-11) seems to suggest the rule of Krishnaraj after Timmaraj. Venkataramanaiya (*Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 16) also speaks of Krishnaraja's rule after Timmaraj and mentions some of his achievements. It is said that he protected the chiefs of Haravu and obtained the title *'Sringarahara'* (garland of beauty). But these incidents must have probably occurred only during Bettada Chamaraja's rule when Krishnaraja Wodeyar was possibly associated with his father in the Government of the kingdom. For, we do not have adequate proof to show the independent rule of Krishnaraja Wodeyar. Wilks also does not make any reference to his reign. Neither the *Lotus progeny* in the Jagan Mohan Palace nor the genealogical chart *(Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali)* indicates the rule of Krishnaraja Wodeyar. As S.K.Aiyangar writes, it is probable that Krishnaraja predeceased his father and brothers. Hence the exclusion of his name in the testament of Bettada Chamaraja.

58. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, p. 72.

59. *Hist.*, 1, p. 42.

60. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, op.cit.

61. *Ashtagramagala Kaifiyat*, pp. 15-16 (Mackenzie Collection, Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras). The page numbers mentioned in this work are from an authentic copy of this Ms.

62. Sewell: *A forgotten Empire*, p. 269.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 269. f.n. 1.

65. *EC.*, V, My. 194 (1516 A.D.)

66. *EC.*, V, My. 116 (1517 A.D.); VI, Sr. 31. (1517 A.D.); Mys. Gaz. II, iii, p. 1788.

67. Nilakanta Sastri: *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, 1, p. 198.

68. *C.Vam.*, pp. 34-35; *C.Vi.*, p. 20.

69. *EC.*, V, My. 99 (1674) ii, 11. 20-21; VI, pp. 99 (1722 A.D.), ii, 11. 24-25.

70. *Kamanda Ni*, p. 2; *Kamala, Maha.*, p. 17; *Hasti. Maha.*, p. 7; *EC.*, VI, Sr. 24 (1686 A.D.), 11. 10-11.

71. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 17; *Annals*, 1, p. 15; *Raja. Katha.*, XII, p. 450; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 42.

72. S.K.Aiyangar: *Anc. Ind.*, pp. 277-278

73. *Annals*, 1, p. 15; *Lotus Progeny* (*MAR.*, 1938, pp. 50-51). Supra p. 13.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 16; *Annals*, 1, pp. 15-16; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 42; *Raj. Katha*, XII, p. 450.

76. *Ibid.*, Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, pp. 42-43.

77. *Annals*, 1, p. 17; *Mys. Raja. Cha.*, op.cit.

78. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, pp. 3-9; *Annals*, 1, pp. 16-17.

79. *Mys. Raja. Cha.*, p. 17; *Annals*, 1, p. 16; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, p. 5; *Raja Katha*, XII, p. 450.

80. *C.Vam.*, p. 16; *C.Vl.*, p. 25. M.E.R., 1910, App., E, 15; *EC.*, VI, pp. 50 (1571 A.D.); III, Gu. 75; IV, Ch. 72; VI, pp. 213 and so on.

81. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, 3-7; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 44; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 17; Richards: *Salem. Gaz.*, II, p. 67.

82. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, op.cit. Some of these events narrated in this source appear to have taken place during the time of Raja Wodeyar.

83. *Mys. Gaz.*, II, iii, pp. 2126-2127.

84. H.V.Rao: *Hist.*, 1, pp. 40-41.

85. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 17; *Annals*, 1, p. 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, p. 10; *'Ancient India'*, p. 278. This victory is also referred to in a number of later inscriptions which praise Bola Chamaraja as the conqueror of Remati Venkataiya. Some of these inscriptions are *EC.*, VI, Sr. 24 (1686 A.D.) pp. 99; (1722 A.D.), V, My. 99 (1674 A.D.) and so on. H.V. Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 41, f.n. 75 wrongly identifies Kaluve Kottagala with Kottagala in T.Narasipur taluk. But according to the *Mys. Do. Vam.* (Op.cit.), this village is identical with the village Rangasamudra in T.Narasipur taluk.

86. PP. 6-7; Wilks (*Hist.*, 1, p. 40) ascribes this title to Chamaraja Wodeyar the immediate predecessor of Yaduraya for wehich there is no evidence.

87. *MAR.*, 1924, p. 23, No. 6.

88. *EC.*, VI, Nj. 212, L. 34.

89. *Ibid.*, V, Tn. 16, 1; L. 31; *Ibid.*, XII (Old edition) Kg. 37, L. 26.

90. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, p. 3, 10; *Mys. Nag. Pur.*, 23; *Anc. Ind.*, 279-280; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 44.

91. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, p. 13. The Palace Records (*Annals*, 1, p. 18) state that he was subsequently named Timmaraja Wodeyar after lord Venkatesha in fulfilment of a vow.

92. *Ibid.*, *Annals*, 1, p. 18.

93. *EC.*, VI, pp. 213.

94. *C.Vam.*, pp. 2-3.

95. *Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 412.

96. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, pp. 3, 4.

97. *Hist.*, 1, p. 47.

98. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, p. 73; *Annals*, 1, p. 43; Wilks *Hist.*, 1, p. 53. But according to epigraphical sources it was Venkatappa Nayaka who was the chief of Hole Narasipur between 1580 and 1591 (See the geological table n on page No. 216 infra).

99. *Ibid.*

100. Kembal was the estate that was originally given by Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III to one of his sons Krishnaraj (supra. p. 13). Deparaj, the ruler of Kembal, who was defeated by Raja Wodeyar, was possibly a descendant of this Krishnaraj and was therefore a Kinsman of Raja Wodeyar.

101. *Mys. Do. Vam.*, p. 10. Mullur is a village in the Jayapura hobali of Mysore taluk (*List of villages* p. 9).

102. S.K.Aiyangar, *Sources*, Intr., p. 19.

103. Harohalli is in the Jayapura hobali of Mysore taluk *(List of villages* pp. 22); *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali* (p. 10).

104. *Mys. Do. Vam.*, pp. 8-9.

105. *Annals*, 1, pp. 19-20.

106. *K.N.V.*, III, 16, 17; *C.Vam.*, pp. 7-8; *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, pp. 13-15; *Mys. Ra. Cha.*, p. 17; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, op.cit.; *Annals*, 1, 19-20. Among the inscriptions that mention this conquest of Raja Wodeyar are EC., VI, Sr. 24, L. 16-17; V, My. 99, ii, L. 28-29 and so on.

107. *Annals*, 1, pp. 21-22.

108. *C.Vam.*, p. 6-11; *KNV.*, III, 18-21.

109. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, i, p. 24; *Annals*, 1, pp. 21-22.

110. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, pp. 39-42; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, p. 10; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, pp. 47-48.

111. *Annals*, 1, p. 43; *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, p. 25. Nanjaraj said to have been defeated by Raja Wodeyar in 1606 is possibly the same as his namesake mentioned by Govindavaidya *(KNV* III, 25), as a feudatory of Tirumala II viceroy of Srirangapatna. This Nanjarajaiya is also identical with Nanjaraja Wodeyar mentioned in Ml. 98 (Ec., VII) 1603 A.D. and also with Nanjaraja Wodeyar son of Ramaraja Nayaka of Hadinad.

112. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, 75.

113. *Mys. Ra. Cha.*, p. 19.

114. *Annals*, 1, p. 22.

115. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 19; *Annals*, 1, pp. 22-23.

116. *Ibid.*, According to the Mysore Palace Records (*Annals*, 1, pp. 22-23) it is Venkatapati Raya of Vijayanagar who sought Raja Wodeyar's help to get Tirumala released from his captivity. This may be true. But the view held by this authority that because of his incapability of facing Lakshmappa Nayaka Venkatapati applied to Raja Wodeyar for help, is untenable.

117. *Ibid., KNV.*, III, 51; *Annals*, 1, p. 22-23.

118. *Annals*, 1, pp. 22-23.

119. *Annals*, 1, pp. 23-24.

120. *MAR.*, 1942, pp. 84-85.

121. *KNV.*, III, 13-96; *C.Vam.*, pp. 27-29.

122. i, p. 24.

123. *C.Vam.*, pp. 12 and 31.

124. *Hist.*,.1, p. 51; Rev. Fr. Heras: *Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 419.

125. *Raja. Katha.*, 455-464.

126. *Annals*, 1, pp. 22-23.

127. Mallikarjuna in his *Sriranga Mahatmya* (II, p. 24) writes *Tirumalarajagraniyam Vichitra gatiyim geldoldu Srirangamam nelegondu* (Raja Wodeyar took possession of Srirangapatna having defeated Tirumala by means of wonderful talents). Chikkupadhyaya in his *Kamandakaniti* (p.2) also tells us how Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna after defeating Tirumala by employing great skill and tactics. *(Tirumalarajananati Vichitrarachaneyim geldu Rajabhupam mudadim Rangesha kataksha spurita Srirangapuramam nildu).* See also Chikkupadhyaya's *Divya suricharita, Paschima ranga Mahatmya, Hastigiri Mahatmya, Bhagvadgita tiku* and so on for similar expressions. We also understand from the *Ashtagramagala* Kaifiyat (p. 9) that Raja Wodeyar exhibited great skill *(Chaturopaya)* and finally took possession of Srirangapatna with the consent of the emperor.

128. *EC.*, V, My. 99, ii. L. 29-30 (1674 A.D.).

129. *Jitva Tirumalarajam Hritva Sriranga pattanam* (Raja Wodeyar) took Srirangapattana after defeating Tirumala in war.

130. (a) *EC.*, VI, Sr. 24, I. L. 17-18, 1686 A.D.

(b) *Ibid.*, pp. 99, ii. L. 32-33, 1722 A.D.

(c) *Ibid.*, pp. 215, I. L. 17-20, 1724 A.D.

(d) *Ibid.*, pp. 216, ii. L. 23-24, 1725 A.D.

EC., IV, Ch. 291 (1744) Composed by Krishnadikshita)

1. 10. *Rajanripagrinistirumalakshmapala-rayam javajjitva*

1. 11. *Doryuga Vikramakrama bharah Srirangapuryam sudih*

131. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. IV, pp. 2424-2425.

132. *Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire*, Q.J.M.S., Vol. XIII, p. 627.

133. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, 1, pp. 54-55.

134. *EC.*, V, Tn. 15 (1622 A.D.) L. 42-44. We have also an other record from Singanallur (*EC.*, IV, Ko. 52) which belongs to the year 1659 and refers to Devaraja Wodeyar as ruling at Srirangapatna on the authority of Sriranga ? (Venkatapati). See also *EC.*, VII (old edition) Ag. 94, *EC.*, III, gu. 202, 1656, L. 6-8, gu 157, L. 5-6. In the light of these epigraphical evidences the notion that Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna by military action is to be revised.

135. *C.Vam.*, p. 31.

136. *Hist.*, 1, pp. 49-50. But his remark that the viceroy was "worn down with age and disease" is not supported by any other evidence. We have already seen above (p.16) that in 1581 when Rama died, his son Tirumala II was young and the administration of the viceroyalty was looked after by Remati Venkataiya. Therefore, if Tirumala was a minor in 1581, it is wrong to say that he was old by 1610.

137. *Aravidu Dynasty,* p. 420.

138. *Ibid.*

139. Puttaiya, *A Note on the Mysore Throne,* Q.J.M.S., Vol. XI, pp. 262-263.

140. *EC.,* V, Tn. 15 L. 42-44) (1622 A.D.); *EC.,* III (old edition), Sr. 157 (1614 A.D.). Another epigraph belonging to 1615 (*EC.,* V, Tn. 50) mentions Bannur also as a hereditary permanent estate granted by Venkatapati to Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.

141. *C.Vam.,* p. 31; *Mys. Do. Pur.,* pp. 76-81; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* pp. 19-20; *KAV.,* p. 11; *Annals* 1, pp. 44-45; *C.VI.,* ii, p. 29; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* pp. 17-18.

142. *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 20.

143. *Annals,* 1, pp. 44-45.

144. *Mys. Raj. Cha.* pp. 19-20.

145. *Mys. Do. Vam.,* pp. 17-18.

146. *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1, pp. 81-82. *Annals,* 1, p. 45.

147. *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1, 82; *Annals,* 1, p. 44.

148. *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1, p. 21; *Annals,* 1, p. 49.

CHAPTER II

EXPANSION AND PRESERVATION - 1617-1647

The period from 1617 to 1647 covers the reign period of Chamaraja Wodeyar V and part of the rule of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. It witnessed the annihilation of the viceroyalty of Channapattana and the expansion of Mysore in the northern direction. It is during this period that Mysore attracted the attention of the more powerful neighbours like the Sultans of Bijapur besides the Nayaks of Ikkeri and Madura. This was a critical period in the history of Mysore. Bijapur made a determined bid to pull down Kanthirava and to make him a vassal of Adil Shah. But Kanthirava successfully repulsed the repeated Adil Shahi attacks and preserved the integrity of his kingdom from foreign danger. The heroic defence of Srirangapatna by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar against the Adilshahi raids forms an interesting chapter in Mysore history.

CHAMARAJA WODEYAR V - 1617-1638

Raja Wodeyar lost three of his sons during his life time. His youngest and the only surviving son Immadi Raj was an infant at the time of Raja Wodeyar's death. Raja Wodeyar was therefore succeeded by his grandson Chamaraja Wodeyar V.

Chamaraja Wodeyar succeeded Raja Wodeyar in July 1617. Chamaraja was the son of Narasaraja Wodeyar eldest son of Raja Wideyar. He was a boy of 11 years at the time of coronation. The administration of the kingdom was managed by dalvoy Bettada Arasu during the minority of the king. According to Wilks, Chamaraja Wodeyar was a weak king. It is said that this Raja was a mere puppet in the hands of his ministers and dalvoys who "by inciting and corrupting his natural propensities plunged him into habits of low and licentious indolence; and thus kept him throughout life in a state of perpetual tutelage".[1] It is true, as Wilks writes, that during the regency of Bettada Arasu, when he was still young, Chamaraja might have been a tool in the hands of the palace party. But when he assumed direct charge of administration on the fall of dalvoy Bettada Arasu in 1622, this Raja was never guided by the old guards of the palace. The manner in which he quelled the conspiracy in the palace in 1621-1622 and punished Bettada Arasu for his criminal acts and kept under control even such a power dalvoy like Vikramaraya, shows that this Raja was a strong ruler and a good administrator capable of maintaining law and order in the kingdom. His successful efforts to annihilate completely the territory of Jagadevaraya and the first triumphal march of the Mysore army up to Belur in the direction of Ikkeri are some of the outstanding achievements of this reign. These are in fact really hard tasks which a pageant king who is given too much for personal pleasures cannot achieve. These factors make it difficult to accept the views expressed by Wilks. His testimony is contrary to the contemporary evidences.

The chief characteristic feature of this reign was also continuous warfare among the feudal lords in this region. It was a period when the more powerful chieftains tried to control the smaller feudatories in order to gain a more respectable rank among the feudal chiefs. After the conquest of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar Mysore had grown some what stronger. The rise of Mysore was very much resented by the neighbouring chiefs in this region like the Poligars of Hole Narasipur, Belur, Ikkeri and so-forth. Mysore wanted to subjugate these chiefs and build a strong kingdom. This instinct to expand and to develop ones own territory introduced an element of rivalry among the feudal chiefs. But Mysore was able to defeat all the rivals for power and to come out successfully as a strong kingdom. The most important achievement of this reign was the reduction of the viceroyalty of Channapattana. The fall of Channapattana opened the gates to Mysore to enter Madura in the east (through the territory of Jagadevaraya) and Ikkeri in the north west. Thus its policy of expansion brought Mysore into conflict with Madura and Ikkeri. These two principalities were jealous of the growing power of Mysore. They were somehow bent on de-stabilising Mysore. These two poligars did not come into contact with Mysore directly but they would always incite the local poligars in the bordering areas of Mysore and disturb peace in this region. In this way there was a sort of cold war going on between Madura and Mysore on one side and Mysore and Ikkeri on the other. It is in this background that we should study the political developments in Karnataka during the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar.

Conquest of Channapattana - First Phase:

The first act of Chamaraja after he ascended the throne was to send an expedition to Channapattana. There were several causes that led to this war of Mysore on Channapattana. First, Channapattana formed a part of the Srirangapatna viceroyalty constituted by Sriranga I after the battle of Talikota. The viceroyalty of Srirangapatna consisted of the provinces of Channapattana and Ikkeri also. So, mere acquisition of Srirangapatna was incomplete without the provinces of Ikkeri and Channapattana. Mysore was therefore anxious to acquire Channapattana. Secondly Mysore wanted to reduce Channapattana because this principality blocked the expansion of Mysore in the north. Mysore could not think of taking Ikkeri without reducing Channapattana. On account of these reasons Mysore developed a hostile attitude towards Jagadevaraya the chief of this principality and never maintained any friendly relationship with him.[2] The province of Channapattana consisting of the present Bangalore and Mandya districts and parts of the Baramahal was specially created by Sriranga the king of Vijayanagar and bestowed on Jagadevaraya for the service rendered by him in one of the Adil-Shahi raids on Penukonda in 1580. Therefore any attack upon Channapattana would provoke the king at Penukonda. But conditions were favourable to Mysore early in the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar. The civil war of 1617-18 had further wrecked the kingdom of Vijayanagar. The king at Penukonda was too weak to check the expansionist designs of his feudatories. Jagadevaraya could not expect any help from the king at Penukonda. Lastly Jagadevaraya had also another rival locally. That is, the chief of Chikkanayakanahalli. This chief would make frequent raids on Channapattana and grab territory from Jagadevaraya. The power of Jagadevaraya started sinking after the fall of Srirangapatna. There were no local rulers on whom he could rely in times of danger. Jagadevaraya lived in the midst of hostile neighbours. These were the conditions favourable to Mysore to launch an expedition against Channapattana. Since the beginning of his reign Chamaraja conducted a series of campaigns in the territory of Channapattana and reduced the power of Jagadevaraya in piecemeal and completely annihilated the viceroyalty of Channapattana in 1630.

Shortly after his accession to the throne his dalvoy Bettada Arasu led the Mysore army into the region of Channapattana. Bettada Arasu defeated Jagadevaraya in two battles at Honnemadu and Hosakote in Nagamangala taluk and laid siege to Nagamangala. Channaiya who was in-charge of this fort repulsed the attack and forced Bettada Arasu to raise the siege and retrace his steps. Though the Mysore army could not reduce the fort of Nagamangala, its acquisitions in the territory of Jagadevaraya may be said to mark the beginning of the end of Jagadevaraya's rule in Karnataka.

Mysorean Expedition to the South:

For some time after its repulse from Nagamangala, Mysore suspended its military activities in Channapattana territory. Because some of the feudal chiefs in the south of Mysore revolted against Chamaraja. They were the chief of Danayakanakote and the poligar of Arikuthara (Chamarajanagar). These raisings were instigated by the Nayak of Madura. Because the Nayak never wanted to allow Mysore to become stronger. He was somehow bent on pulling down the rising power of Mysore by disturbing peace in this region. These activities of the Nayak of Madura provoked the Raja of Mysore. So, when the news of these disturbances reached Mysore, Chamaraja sent an army to suppress this revolt. Mallarajaiya the Mysore dalvoy defeated the Madura army which had come to the assistance of the chief of Danayakanakote. The poligar of Danayakanakote was unable to offer any resistance. He sued for peace by agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 12,000 *varahas* to Mysore. The Mysore army next marched towards Arikuthara, defeated its chief Baloji Nayaka in 1623 and annexed Arikuthara to the kingdom of Mysore.

Mysore Channapattana relations - Second Phase:

After restoring peace in the south, Mysore turned towards Channapattana. In 1619 the Mysore army defeated Jagadevaraya and acquired Maddur and Keregod. Talakad and Malavalli fell in 1622 and 1623 respectively. In 1624 Bannur Linganna the dalvoy of Mysore army wrested Sindughatta and Bukanakere from Jagadevaraya. In January 1626 Bannur Linganna laid siege to Nagamangala. But the fort was admirably defended by Channaiya. In a severe encounter that ensued at Nagamangala, Channaiya slew Bannur Linganna. The Mysore army was forced to beat a hasty retreat.

The fall of these places considerably reduced the power of Jagadevaraya. Sindughatta in particular was a very important fort town of Jagadevaraya. Wilks writes that it was the capital of Jagadevaraya.[3] It was possibly Jagadevaraya's second capital. It is likely that being unable to resist the frequent onslaughts of Mysore, Jagadevaraya shifted the capital of his province from Channapattana to the second line of defence at Sindughatta some time before 1624. The fall of such an important place was a great blow to Jagadevaraya. Secondly, these conquests took Mysore close to Channapattana. Jagadevaraya's position now became dangerous. Still the defeat of the Mysore army at Nagamangala proved the superior strength of Jagadevaraya.

Mysore-Madura relations - Second Phase:

The expansionist policy of Mysore was a source of great worry to the Nayak of Madura and the other local chiefs in the south of Mysore. The Nayak was afraid that Mysore would eventually cast its eyes on Madura. So this chief was taking all possible steps to de stabilise Mysore. He instigated the chiefs of Heggadadevanakote, Kattemalalavadi, Danayakanakote and so on on the southern border of Mysore and set them against Mysore. We may notice one important factor in these activities of the feudal chiefs. That is the principle of expansion. Expansionism was the most important concept that governed the political events of the period. Military activities cover a major part of the history of the reign. Ambition to acquire more territory, rivalry, jealousy, force and internecine warfare were the features that characterised the political events. The local poligars in the south and west of Mysore were alarmed by the expansionist policy of the Raja of Mysore. They naturally sought the intervention of the neighbouring powers in order to save their liberty. This policy of expansion followed by Mysore and the anxiety of the other chiefs to neutralise its power resulted in the formation of hostile camps against Mysore. As usual the Nayak of Madura supported the poligars in the south of Mysore while the chief of Ikkeri came to the assistance of Piriyapattana in the west. Jagadevaraya sent his army under his general Gopalarajaiya of Kattemalalavadi. A big union of different chiefs was formed. The Mysore army soon marched to the south and completely put down the rebel chiefs in the battles at Satyagala and Hura and annexed the principalities of Heggadadevanakote and Kattemalalavaid to Mysore. Next. Chamaraja moved to Piriyapattana defeating on the way the army of Jagadevaraya led by Gopalarajaiya and invested the fort of Piriyapattana. The Mysore army captured alive Singalaraya the commander of the Keladi army who had come to the assistance of Piriyapattana and cut his nose. When further resistance was impossible, Nanjunda Arasu of Piriyapattana capitulated agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 3000 *varahas* to Mysore.[4]

The effect of this campaign was that it put down to a great extent the recalcitrant activities of the Nayak of Madura and the poligar of Ikkeri in Mysore territory. Secondly the territory that Chamaraja reduced in this campaign in the south and west of Mysore is a land of elephants. Many of the chiefs that were defeated by Mysore in these battles between 1625 and 1627 agreed to supply war elephants required for the Mysore army. With these war elephants Chamaraja reorganised his army and made it stronger. Thirdly the tribute paid by these chiefs enriched the exchequer of Mysore. Finally these victories established peace in the south and west of Mysore. As a result of this the Raja of Mysore was able to concentrate his attention on the reduction of Channapattana.

Fall of Channapattana and the termination of Jagadevaraya's authority in Karnataka:

After consolidating his conquests in the south and west, Chamaraja again attempted the reduction of Channapattana. By a policy of systematic encroachments Mysore had sufficiently reduced the power of Jagadevaraya. Channapattana had lost to Mysore many of its dependencies like Sindughatta, Maddur, Malavalli and so on. Chamaraja was now completely determined to reduce Channapattana. In 1630 he sent his army under his dalvoy Vikramaraya to reduce Channapattana. Vikramaraya besieged the fort. Defence of this fort was a question of great prestige to Jagadevaraya. For Channapattana was the capital of his province. His existence in Karnataka depended on the retention of the capital city. Inspite of great resistance he could not defend the citadel. The fort fell after a tough fight in 1630. The Mysore army followed the victory and captured Kanikaranahalli (Kanakanahalli) and Nagamangala. The fall of these places meant the final collapse of the viceroyalty of Channapattana and the end of Jagadevaraya's regime in Karnataka. In 1631 Mysore army wrested Bellur. Bellur originally belonged to Channapattana and was just captured by the chief of Chikkanayakanahalli.[5]

The reduction of Channapattana was an important achievement of Chamaraja Wodeyar. For Channapattana was originally a part of the Karnataka viceroyalty of Srirangapatna. Its acquisition now partially completed the conquest of Srirangapatna by Mysore. Secondly the viceroyalty of Channapattana was large in extent. The acquisition of such an important province considerably extended the territorial limits of Mysore. Thirdly, this conquest brought much wealth to Mysore and increased its economic resources. Fourthly the conquest of Channapattana by Mysore opened the way for the Mysorean advance towards Ikkeri in the north west and Madura in the west through the Baramahals. It is possibly to check the expansionist activities of Mysore that Sriranga of Vijayanagar had created the province of Channapattana and stationed his own representative here. Now with the fall of this viceroyalty Mysore became free to launch its attacks in the other directions. On the whole, by these conquests Mysore gradually started rising as a single independent kingdom in Karnataka.

After the reduction of Channapattana Mysore had to prepare the ground for its march towards the principality of Ikkeri. But this was by no means an easy task. For Ikkeri was too far away from Mysore and there were many independent principalities on the way to Ikkeri. Chamaraja had to reduce these principalities before reaching the goal. Though these chieftains like the Poligars of Hole-Narasipur, Arkalagud, Piriyapattana, Belur, Chikkanayakanahalli and so on did not owe allegiance to Ikkeri, they were closely allied with it against Mysore. An attack on any one of them would bring all of them together. Thus, Chamaraja had to face very hostile combinations during his march towards Ikkeri. Ikkeri was active in all these local courts and was making all possible efforts to curb the rising power of Mysore. Ikkeri was a great rival of Mysore and the reduction of this province was a matter of great importance to the Raja of Mysore. So, after the conquest of Channapattana, as the first step in its march in the direction of Ikkeri Mysore reduced Hole Narasipur and entered the territory of Belur.

Mysore Belur Relations:

Two factors compelled the Raja of Mysore to attack Belur. First is the strategic importance of this place. Belur is almost on the central point between Mysore and Ikkeri. Mysore wanted to make this place a military base for its onward march towards Ikkeri. Secondly Belur was a powerful ally of Ikkeri. Mysore wanted to break this union and reduce the power of these chiefs. With these objectives in view Chamaraja sent his army under his dalvoy Vikramaraya towards Belur. Venkatadri Nayaka the chief of this place was alarmed at the expansionist designs of Mysore. He sought the assistance of the neighbouring poligars like Kenge Hanuma of Basavapattana, Sala Nayaka and Bhairappa Nayaka of Chikkanayakanahalli besides the poligar of Ikkeri.[6] When Venkatadri Nayaka appealed to these local chiefs they readily came to the relief of Belur. Chamaraja took adequate care to face the confederates. A strong force was sent under the command of Vikramaraya who was a leader of exceptional courage and ability. Pitched battles were fought at Choleyanahalli and Anekere in Channarayapattana taluk, in which the confederate forces suffered heavy reverses. Vikramaraya again put to rout the allied army at Yeleyur in Channarayapattana taluk, and finally laid siege to the fort of Channarayapattana. In a sanguinary fight that was fought here, the Mysore army completely defeated the Nayak of Belur. The Nayak could not resist the attack any further and capitulated. Channapattana fell to Mysore and the hostilities came to an end.

It may now be noticed that for the first time Mysore came into clash with Belur and wrested from Venkatadri Nayaka some places dependent on this principality. According to the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* Channarayapattana was a rich province yielding an annual revenue of six thousand *Varahas.*[7] The loss of such an important place dealt a great blow to the power of Belur. Besides this, Mysore had also reduced the principalities of Hole Narasipur and Piriyapattana. These successes of Chamaraja in the north western part of Mysore considerably reduced the influence of the poligar of Ikkeri in this region and facilitated the march of Mysore towards the principality of Ikkeri. Further, in the course of these conquests Chamaraja acquired a great quantity of war materials.[8] With the help of these ammunitions and the war elephants that were supplied to Mysore by some of the vanquished chieftains, Chamaraja was able to reorganise his army on stronger lines and make it more efficient in order to meet the needs of the growing kingdom.

We now notice that if the reign of Raja Wodeyar was important for the Mysorean occupation of Srirangapatna the period of Chamaraja Wodeyar was noted for the defeat of Jagadevaraya and the acquisition of the Viceroyalty of Channapattana by Mysore. It is also during this reign that Mysore initiated a career of expansion for the first time in the north western direction with Ikkeri as its goal. But Chamaraja was not destined to live long to realise this dream. For, he died on 2 May 1637 leaving this task to his successors.[9] Tirumalarya the court poet of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar praises this king in high terms for his various conquests and cultural attainments.[10] This view is substantiated by epigraphical evidence also. The *Honnalagere plates* give us a good account of his military accomplishments and the patronage given by him to the scholars in his court.[11] Hayavadana Rao writes that regarded alike from the political and cultural points of view, Chamaraja Wodeyar is entitled to a unique place in history as a "Maker of Mysore".[12] Judged by a study of the contemporary sources it may well be stated that Chamaraja Wodeyar was noted for his military prowess and for his patronage of art and literature. Chamaraja subdued many of the neighbouring warlike feudal lords, brought them under his control and considerably enlarged the territorial limits of the kingdom of Mysore.

We have a few manuscripts belonging to the period of *Immadi* Kempe Gowda of Bangalore a contemporary of Chamaraja Wodeyar V of Mysore. It is necessary that we should examine these documents as they are helpful to us to assess to some extent the political position of Mysore during this reign.

The Immadi Tammaraya Kemparaya Padagalu by Venkataiya ascribable to about 1635 A.D. indicates that by the end of his reign, Chamaraja openly defied the authority of Venkata III the ruler of Penukonda, but Kempe Gowda II of Bangalore plugged their differences and brought about a reconciliation between the two.[13] But there is nothing in the contemporary sources - either literary or epigraphical - to corroborate this evidence. In fact there is no instance of any member of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore having ever taken up arms against the king at Penukonda. But we have only evidence to show that the rulers of Mysore, by a gradual process, tried to assert themselves. They adjusted their relationship with the ruler of Vijayanagar accordingly as he prospered or declined. But there is nothing positive to show that the Mysore rulers ever set up a standard of open rebellion. The *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* which given us a vivid account of Chamaraja Wodeyar's campaigns, is silent about this important point. The chronicles also do not speak even a word about this incident.

We have another manuscript relating to *Immadi* Kempe Gowda entitled *Kemparaya Jayastuti.*[14] It is an anonymous manuscript assignable to about 1650. This document makes Immadi Kempe Gowda a loyal feudatory of Venkata III and gives us an account of the wars that he waged for the cause of the kingdom of Vijayanagar and narrates how he could firmly establish Venkata III on the throne of Vijayanagar on 13 January 1635 A.D. Mysore is represented in this document without any prominence. The ruler of Mysore, (not named) among other feudatories, is said to have met the king Venkata on the occasion of his coronation and paid him his tribute of loyalty. Even this manuscript makes no reference to the defiance, by Chamaraja, of the authority of Venkata III. The assertion that Chamaraja openly rebelled against the king of Vijayanagar lacks sufficient corroboration. However it is true that by the end of his career, Chamaraja ruled like an independent king in no way subordinate to the king at Penukonda. He gave up even the usual courtesy of formally acknowledging the nominal rule of the king at Penukonda.[15] In an inscription belonging to 1623 he is even styled as seated on the jewelled throne of Bhoja at Srirangapatna.[16]

Since Chamaraja V had no male children he was succeeded by his uncle Raja Wodeyar II or *Immadi* Raja Wodeyar.[17] *Immadi* Raj was the youngest and the only surviving son of Raja Wodeyar. He was born on 26 May 1612.[18] His coronation took place on 14 May 1637.[19] *Immadi* Raj was a youth of 25 years at the time of his accession to the throne.

But, this Raja was not destined to live long. He died on 10 October 1638. This brief period of *Immadi* Raja's rule was relatively quiet in political activities. It is said that the death of *Immadi* Raj was brought about by the administration of a poisonous mixture by the court physician on the advice of dalvoy Vikramaraya when the boy king was once indisposed.[20] Wilks writes that the dalvoy who aimed at self advancement probably found the king "to possess too much of the energy of his grand-father and therefore speedily removed him".[21] Some of the later literary sources point out that this king possessed good talents and abilities of a great ruler.[22]

H.V.Rao also holds the same opinion.[23] But it is difficult to believe that a king in the prime of his youth with the talents of a good statesman could so easily be victimised by an ambitious officer. The dalvoy who was aiming at self aggrandisement kept the king amidst all pleasures with a view to keeping him ignorant of the affairs of the kingdom in order to usurp all the powers of the Raja. A critical study of the circumstances leading to the death of the Raja indicates that *Immadi* Raj was a pageant and easily fell a prey to the evil designs of the dalvoy.

KANTHIRAVA NARASARAJA WODEYAR 1638-1659

Immadi Raja Wodeyar had no male children and was therefore succeeded by his cousin Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. Kanthirava was the son of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar (brother of Raja Wodeyar) by his wife Guruvajammanni of Hura.[24] He was the nearest claimant to the throne. Kanthirava Narasaraj was born on 2 May 1615.[25] While young Kanthirava was brought up along with Nanjarajendra and Lingarejendra sons of Kemparaj of Hura, the brother of Guruvajammanni mother of Kanthirava[26] and was given all training necessary for a prince like horse riding, elephant riding, archery and the use of weapons besides the science of polity and religious lore.[27]

The accession of Kanthirava to the throne coincided with several changers in the politics of South India. The Mughals had taken Daulatabad and had established the province of Deccan.[28] In 1636 Shah-Jahan concluded a treaty with Bijapur and this treaty terminated the wars of the Mughals in the south for the time being. It is this treaty and the definitive arrangements it imposed on the powers concerned that set Bijapur and Golkonda free from the entanglement of the Mughals. The cessation of hostilities between the Mughals and the Deccan Sultans had a far-reaching effect on the politics of Karnataka in the first half of the seventeenth century. Being freed from the onslaughts of the Mughals, the Deccan Sultans turned their attention towards the south and east. The two Sultans came to an agreement to attack Vijayanagar from east and west-Golkonda on the east and Bijapur on the west. It was the intention of these two rulers to occupy all the territory that formerly formed part of the empire of Vijayanagar.[29] Kanthirava had thus to face numerous invasions from Bijapur. The kingdom of Penukonda was fairly infact as long as Venkatapati III (1635-1642) was on the throne. But his successor Sriranga III (1642-1658) could neither suppress the internal rebellions of his vassals nor possessed adequate resources to check the Shahi aggressions on his kingdom. Owing to their internal discords the local chiefs of the south could give but little resistance to the Sahi Sultans. Some of the Nayaks who had declared their independence of Vijayanagar, even invited the Shahi Sultans to preserve and to extend their territories by means of foreign aid.[30] The chiefs of Ikkeri and Basavapattana quarreled. Again, there was no friendship between Mysore and Ikkeri. Tirumala Nayaka the ruler of Madura had been very hostile to Mysore. After the fall of Channapattana the way was clear for Mysore to enter Kongu and Madura through the territory of Jagadevaraya. Madura was now alarmed by the expansionist designs of Mysore and always cast an evil eye on it. These confused political conditions prevailing in the south proved very agreeable to Adil Shah to undertake his expeditions in Karnataka region. By the deed of submission the kingdom of Bijapur was assured of peace as far as the Mughals were concerned. While it was prevented from any further activities in the north, no inhibitions were imposed on it in the south. The treaties of 1636 thus marked the beginning of the further expansion of the Shahi Sultans in the south.

Adil Shah invades Ikkeri:

There were several causes that led to the Adil Shahi expeditions on Karnataka in the first half of the seventeenth century. Chief among them was Adil Shal's desire for expansion of his territory, and to acquire more wealth and glory. The treaty of 1636 set him free to launch his expeditions in the south to fulfil these desires.

Secondly Adil Shah was very keen to march on the Carnatic and to weaken further Venkatapati Raya III's position in the Baramahals. The Sultan had to pass through the Karnataka kingdom in order to reach Venkatapati's territory. Adil Shah had therefore to reduce first the chieftains in Karnataka before thinking of attacking Venkatapati Raya III. The Sultan was waiting for an opportunity to march on the Karnataka kingdom and to make the way clear for his further advance into the kingdom of Venkata III.

The immediate cause of Adil Shah's invasion of Karnataka was the disunity prevailing among the local chiefs in Karnataka at that time.[31] Among the poligars that surrounded the territory of Ikkeri was one chieftain Kenge Hanuma, the ruler of Basavapattana. Govinda Vaidya writes that out of ill will against Virabhadra of Ikkeri, Kenge Hanuma sought the assistance of the Sultan of Bijapur.[32] We learn from some Portuguese records of 1629-30 that Venkatappa the predecessor of Virabhadra had deprived Kenge Hanuma of his territory valued 50000 *pagodas*.[33] These differences between Virabhadra and his subordinates were exploited by Kanthirava of Mysore. For, we understand that Kanthirava set up Kenge Hanuma and other discontented poligars in the neighbourhood against their liege lord Virabhadra Nayaka of Ikkeri.[34] The policy underlying the political developments of the period was the principle of overlordship. The bigger powers used the smaller chiefs as pawns on the chess board in order to become stronger by over-powering their rivals for power. This policy of overlordship followed by the bigger powers and the policy of shifting of loyalty and opportunism adopted by the local poligars were some of the important concepts that determined the political events of the period.

A comparative study of the different sources reveals that on being defeated by Venkatappa Nayaka, Hanumappa fled to the court of Bijapur and sought the intervention of Muhammad Adil Shah. Adil Shah now got a very good opportunity to enter the Karnataka region. On his way to the Baramahals Adil Shah had to pass through several petty principalities that rose over the debris of Vijayanagar in Karnataka. The Sultan of Bijapur had to subdule these principalities before attacking Venkatapati III in the Baramahals. Adil Shah's route to the Baramahals lay through Ikkeri, Sira, Tumkur, Bangalore and Kolar. Thus, Ikkeri was one of the entrances for the march of the Bijapur army into Karnataka. The conquest of this place was now very important for Bijapur. So, when Kenge Hanuma approached the Sultan for help, Adil Shah readily agreed and despatched an army in December 1637 under his general Ranadullah Khan, ostensibly to espouse the cause of Kenge Nayaka, but really to conquer the southern territories.[35] Ranadullah was assisted by Malik Raihan as joint Commander.

Religious Causes:

According to the Muhammad Namah besides helping Kenge Hanuma to recover his kingdom, Adil Shah undertook this compaign in Karnataka in order to strengthen and glorify Islam in the dominion of the Hindus and to win for himself the title of 'Mujahid' and 'Ghazi'.[36] But the Muhammad Namah does not really reflect the motive of the Sultan. Adil Shah's intention in undertaking this expendition to Karnataka was political but the pretext as given by the author of the *Muhammad Namah* is religious. But it is difficult to agree with this observation, because it is not substantiated by other sources. Besides we see there were several Hindus like Shahji, Vedoji and so on who held some of the highest offices in the Bijapur army during Adil Shah's expeditions in *Malanad* and Karnataka. These Hindu officers would never have participated in the Bijapur army if these expeditions were undertaken on religious ground, or the Sultan himself would never have entertained any Hindu in a campaign that was undertaken in the spirit of a *Jihad*.[37] Far from it, we see that during his campaigns in the south, Adil Shah appointed many Hindu officers in-charge of his acquisitions in this region. These factors indicate that the Sultan undertook these expeditions only for the greed of territory and wealth. Religion does not appear to have played any role in these campaigns. A careful analysis of the sources reveals that the *Muhammad Namah* does not reflect the real intention of the Sultan.

The story of Ranadullah's campaign against Ikkeri may now briefly be told. Taking Kenge Nayak with him Ranadullah Khan reached Ikkeri through a secret path. Virabhadra could not withstand the surprise attack. He was defeated in a battle at Kauledurga (Bhuvanagiri) and was forced to submit to Bijapur. Finally, he gave up his claim to Ikkeri and agreed to pay thirty lakh *huns* as ransom to the Sultan.[38] Adil Shah annexed Ikkeri to Bijapur and in turn allowed Virabhadra to hold the territory of Nagar or Bidanur as a subordinate of the Sultan of Bijapur.[39] This policy of making friends with the vanquished poligars helped Adil Shah very much during his campaigns in the south. For, these local poligars acted as guides to Adil Shah during the march of the Bijapur army in this region. They revealed to Adil Shah all the local geography and gave him necessary advice on military matters.[40] This policy of befriending the local poligars by assignment of land also strengthened the concept of overlordship. Henceforth the chiefs of Ikkeri shifted their capital to the province of Bidanur where they continued till the dynasty was completely over-thrown by Haidar in 1763 A.D. The first expedition of Adil Shah to Karnataka came to an end.

Kenge Hanuma thus brought about the down fall of Virabhadra. But little did he think that by exposing the chief of Ikkeri he was only welcoming his own doom. For Adil Shah's victory over Ikkeri left a strong sense of humiliation in the mind of Virabhadra. He could not forget the insult done to him by Kenge Hanuma in this war and was waiting for an opportunity to average this insult. This jealousy and mutual rivalry among the local poligars led to further Adil Shahi inroads in Karnataka.

Adil Shan's victory over Virabhadra of Ikkeri in 1637 had another important effect on the political developments in Mysore. For; after reducing Channapattana in 1630 Mysore was very anxious to subjugate Ikkeri. Now in the wake of the Adil Shahi advance in Karnataka Mysore had to abandon its idea of the conquest of Ikkeri and think of its own defence against the Adil Shahi attacks. Besides, after its defeat by Ranadullah Khan in 1637 Ikkeri became a tributary of Adil Shah and rendered valuable help to Ranadullah Khan during his expeditions in Mysore region in 1638-1640. Therefore any attack on Ikkeri by Mysore would only provoke Adil Shah. Thus the Adil Shahi expeditions in Karnataka freed Ikkeri from the expansionist designs of Mysore. On the other hand Ikkeri tried to exploit this situation as much as possible to its own advantage and to curb the power of Kanthirava by allying itself with Adil Shah.

First Adil Shahi expedition to Mysore:

The victory won by Adil Shah in his first expedition opened the gates of Karnataka to the Sultan and also increased his desire to conquer more and more land in this region. There were certain other factors also which encouraged the Sultan to undertake further expeditions in Mysore region. The poligar of Begur near Bangalore was ill affected towards Kempe Gowda of Bangalore. In order to wreck his vengeance against the latter he went to Bijapur and appealed to Adil Shah to assist him in his war against Kempe Gowda.[41] Similarly another person dalvoy Channaiya of Nagamangala who was formerly defeated by Chamaraja Wodeyar of Mysore also went to Bijapur and entered into the service of Adil Shah.[42] These two fugitives urged the Sultan to send an expedition against Mysore in order to check the growing power of Kanthirava.

The Sultan could not have expected a better opportunity to fulfil his ambition to conquer more land in the South. For if Ikkeri brought him to threshold of Karnataka, Begur took him to the very heart of this region. With Bangalore as the centre Adil Shah could easily conduct his military operations both in the Baramahal and Srirangapatna regions. Besides, the wealth of Bangalore and its neighbouring areas lured the Sultan to conquer these territories.[43] Accordingly, on the request of these two chiefs of Begur and Nagamangala the Sultan sent an army against Kempe Gowda in 1638 under Ranadullah Khan with Shahji as second in command. Ranadullah sent Afzak Khan in advance. Afzak Khan laid siege to Sira and took the fort by putting to death Kasturiranga Nayaka, the chief of that principality.[44] In these campaigns in Karnataka, Adil Shah followed a very clever policy calculated to strengthen his position in the conquered territory. In order to reach his goal in Karnataka he had to march a long way in the territory of the enemy. In the course of his march it was necessary that he should make adequate arrangements for the safety and security of his fresh acquisitions. On his way to Bangalore he occupied the most important places commanding the high way and converted these places into strong military centres and appointed his trusted officers in charge of each of these places. When he acquired Sira, he occupied this place for strategic reasons and in turn gave Ratnagiri, an interior village, as an estate to the family of Kasturiranga. Besides acting as garrisons, these military stations could also help to establish law and order in the conquered areas by quelling such revolts as might break out in these places. After making necessary arrangements for the administration of this newly conquered territory, Ranadullah marched further and ravaged Tumkur. Its chief took to flight in the neighbouring woods.[45]

Conquest of Bangalore by Ranadullah Khan:

On the reduction of Tumkur the Adil Shahi army marched south wards through Shivagana and occupied Begur preparatory to its attack on Bangalore. Vedoji was stationed in-charge of this settlement.[46] Next, Ranadullah launched his attack on Bangalore. Immadi Kempe Gowda the ruler of Bangalore was not unprepared to face the army of Adil Shah, but he was unequal in strength to the Bijapuris. A fierce battle took place near Bangalore in 1638. Kempe Gowda fought heroically for three days, but was defeated at the end.

The war come to an end by a treaty that was concluded between the two parties in December 1638. According to this treaty Kempe Gowda surrendered the fort of Bangalore to Adil Shah and agreed to pay annual tribute to Bijapur.[47] Secondly Kempe Gowda gave his son as a hostage to the Sultan who, in turn, promised protection to the Gowda.[48] Finally Kempe Gowda was compensated by the grant of Magadi (a town 30 miles to the north west of Bangalore) which is since then identified with that family.[49] The family held it in their possession till 1728 when it was captured by the Raja of Mysore.

The Bangalore campaign of Ranadullah Khan is an important land mark in Adil Shah's military activities in the south. For, Bangalore was the central point between Bijapur and the Baramahals, and acted as a connecting link between these two places. Because of its strategic importance Adil Shah was determined to reduce this important place. It also acted as a base for his military activities in the Baramahals where he had to fight Venkatapati Raya III. The reduction of such an important place was indeed a glorious accomplishment of Ranadullah Khan.

This treaty arrangement reflects to some extent Adil Shah's political diplomacy and military skill. Having now set his feet on the alien soil it was necessary for the Sultan first to ensure his safety in the newly acquired territory. As an important step in this direction Ranadullah had first to curb the power of Kempe Gowda in Bangalore completely. It was with this objective in view that Ranadullah Khan introduced certain harsh conditions in the treaty. According to the treaty, besides surrendering his entire kingdom Kempe Gowda had to make over his son as a hostage to the Sultan. This clause, according to the *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* was a pre-condition to the promise of protection to the Gowda held out by Ranadullah Khan. This term 'protection' embodied in the treaty possibly meant protection against an attack on Kempe Gowda by any of the local rulers. But, the reference here was obviously to Kanthirava Narasaraj of Mysore. For, there was no other local chief in this region at that time powerful enough to take up arms against Kempe Gowda except Kanthirava. This promise of protection was thus a mere pretext aimed at detaching Kempe Gowda from Kanthirava. Ranadullah was afraid of a possible coalition between Kempe Gowda and Kanthirava. For shifting of loyalties and opportunism were certain important concepts that played an important part in the political activities of the period. Such a coalition would pose a great danger to Adil Shah's interests in Karnataka. The Sultan therefore seems to have put forth this promise of protection as a bait to Kempe Gowda on the condition that the latter might not under any circumstances seek the assistance of Kanthirava. In other words the treaty laid down that Kempe Gowda should not have any relations with any of the local chiefs and that in the event of an attack on him by a third party, Adil Shah would offer him protection. As a guaranty to the fulfilment of this condition by Kempe Gowda, Ranadullah demanded the Gowda's son as a hostage. Otherwise there was no justification in the imposition of such a humiliating condition by Adil Shah on Kempe Gowda who had already surrendered his entire kingdom and agreed to pay annual tribute to the Sultan. The treaty thus humbled Kempe Gowda. The Gowda lost his liberty and became a vassal of Adil Shah. On the other hand the treaty was advantageous to the Sultan in many respects. First, it divided Kempe Gowda and Kanthirava the two powerful local rulers whose union would most likely endanger the position of Adil Shah in Karnataka. Secondly,, in Kempe Gowda, Ranadullah got a powerful local ally who was bound by the treaty not only to eschew Kanthirava but also help Adil Shah in the Mysore kingdom. Finally, Magadi, the new estate granted to Kempe Gowda by Ranadullah Khan, is in the centre between Bangalore and Srirangapatna and acted as a buffer state between these two places. This would protect Bangalore from any possible attack by Kanthirava Narasaraj.

Ranadullah's attack on Srirangapatna:

Conquest of Bangalore was a cherished desire of Adil Shah. It was now successfully accomplished by him. Ranadullah appointed Shahji in charge of this province and continued his march towards Srirangapatna.[50] Govinda Vaidya deals exhaustively on the later Mysore-Bijapur relations. According to this author Adil Shah despatched a mighty army to Srirangapatna. Besides the main Bijapur forces, several feudal lords of Adil Shah are said to have sent their forces to the help of the Sultans on this occasion. The *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* gives us the names of about 12 such feudal chiefs that joined Adil Shah during his siege of Srirangapatna in 1639. The total of the army thus collected came to about five lakh foot soldiers, more than 50,000 horses and nearly 2000 elephants.[51] The army was placed incharge of the supreme command of Ranadullah Khan who was assisted by Shahji and many other able Adil Sahi generals like Kairati Khan, Balavant Khan, Yaklas Khan, Ambar Khan, Siddi Rahím, Ankush Khan, Vedoji, Raghava Pandit, Kannoji and others.[52]

On hearing about the march of the Bijapur army, Kanthirava ordered a general mobilisation of his forces including the provincial reserve units. The forces of Kanthirava consisted of the levies supplied by the local poligars like the chiefs of Haradanahalli, Hura, Chennarayapattana, Kikkeri, Bukanakere, Piriyapattana, Talakad, Malavalli, Nagamangala and so on.[53] The Bijapur army swarmed the fort of Srirangapatna from all sides.[54] Ranadullah launched his attack on Srirangapatna on 18 January 1639.[55] The siege lasted only for three days.[56] A part of the Mysore forces made surprise attacks on the Bijapur army encamped at Arakere, Hosaholalu and Melukote and put them to heavy losses and cut the noses of many that were captured.[57] The whole campaign came to an end by a treaty concluded on 31 January, 1639. This treaty left to Mysore the region south of the river Kaveri. The territory to the north of this river was made over to Bijapur. The administration of the Bijapur portion was left in the hands of Kanthirava himself who had to collect the revenue and pay the same to Bijapur after meeting the cost of administration.

It is difficult to assess the results of the siege of Srirangapatna of 1639. Because the views expressed by the writers on the subject are extremely inconsistent. The Kannada sources namely the *Kanthirava Narasaraya Vijayam,* the *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali,* the *Mysore Palace Records* and so on are all unanimous in making Kanthirava the victor whom they extol as the saviour of Karnataka from the Adil Shahi invasion. This view is echoed in some inscriptions of Kanthirava also. The *Gajjiganahalli Copper Plates Grant* belonging to 1639 A.D, and another copper plate inscription belong to 1647, make Kanthirava the hero of the occasion.[58]

But the non-Kannada sources give us completely a different version. The *Muhammad Namah*[59] and the Marathi works like the *Shivabharat,*[60] the *Shivakalinapatrasara*[61] state that Shahji curbed the power of Kanthirava whom he made his vassal.

The views of the modern scholars also differ on the Subject. Wilks, Hayavadan Rao, P.M. Joshi, Shama Rao and others hold that at the end of the siege Ranadullah was repulsed with great slaughter.[62] Varma and Nilakantha Sastri however mainly follow the *Muhammad Namah* and state that after a month's siege Ranadullah humbled Kanthirava, who was at last obliged to sue for peace by agreeing to pay 5 lakhs of *huns* as indemnity to Ranadullah Khan.[63]

S.K. Aiyangar also believes that the Mysoreans could not defend the fort inspite of their stubborn defence.[64] The latter view is held by Dr. Muddachari and Srinivasan also.[65]

A critical examination of the different sources seems to suggest that the Kannada writers are too much biassed. The very fact that Kanthirava surrendered to Bijapur the territory to the north of the river Kaveri, indicates that the Raja of Musore lost the territory of Channapattana conquered during the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar. Being unable to fight back the invader, Kanthirava appears to have terminated the hostilities by agreeing to surrender Channapattana to Adil Shah and to pay 5 lakh *huns* as an indemnity. It is likely that Kanthirava was defeated by Ranadullah Khan and the Kannada sources are concealing this point. Ranadullah left Kenge Hanuma as his agent in the conquered areas and withdrew from Mysore.

Second Adil Shahi Expedition:

The truce of Srirangapatna of 1639 was very short lived. For, Kanthirava never honoured the terms of the treaty. He refused to pay the amount due to the Sultan the very next year. Kenge Hanuma with whose help Ranadullah conquered *Malanad* and whom he had left in Mysore to look after the interests of Bijapur in the conquered tracts, revolted against the Sultan.[66] He refused to stay in Mysore and went back to his capital. He fortified Basavapattana and instigated the other local princes to revolt against Bijapur. The Nayak is even said to have approached Venkatapati of Vijayanagar and solicited his help.[67]

According to Linganna the court historian of Keladi, Virabhadra had not forgotten the insult done to him by Kenge Hanuma. In order to average this insult, Virabhadra entered into an alliance with Adil Shah and pointed out to him the un-satisfactory character of the treaty of 1639 and the un-reliability of Kenge Nanuma. He urged the Sultan to send an expedition against Basavapattana in order to punish Kenge Hanuma.[68] The disunity prevailing among the local poligars was a condition favourable for the Sultan of Bijapur to enter Karnataka and to take an active part in the politics there. The Sultan fully exploited this situation. Ranadullah was an adept in the policy of divide and rule and his conquests in Karnataka were chiefly due to this policy.[69] He had taken Ikkeri with the help of Kenge Nayaka, and now he wrote to Virabhadra of Ikkeri soliciting his help and promising him in turn, restoration of the territory conquered from him in 1638. Virabhadra joined him readily.[70]

When the news of Kenge Hanuma's revolt reached Bijapur, the Sultan appointed a council of war to conduct an enquiry.[71] When the Commission entered Basavapattana and demanded Kenge Hanuma's explanation, the latter became more refractory and murdered Channaiya of Nagamangala who was a member of this council. This offended the Sultan very much. He soon despatched an army under Ranadullah Khan to put down Kenge Hanuma. The Bijapur army crossed the river Bhadra at Hebbe and laid siege to Basavapattana.[72] Afzal Khan one of Ranadullah's lieutenants heroically dashed into the fort and defeated Kenge Hanuma. There upon, Hanuma surrendered the citadel and sued for peace by offering Ranadullah Khan 40 *lakh huns.* Kenge Hanuma was taken prisoner and later slain.[73] Ramadullah occupied Basavapattana and appointed Murtuza Baig as the Governor of this place.[74] Consequently the family of Kenge Hanuma retired to Tarikere where they were allowed to rule as subordinates of the Sultan.[75]

Fall of Chikkanayakanahalli:

On the conquest of Basavapattana, Ranadullah sent his army under Afzal Khan for the reduction of Chikkanayakanahalli.[76] Ranadullah possibly wanted to occupy Chikkanayakanahalli in order to facilitate his further march into the territory of Mysore. The Bijapur army was out for the expansion of the Bijapur zone of influence. On the approach of the Bijapur army, Bhairappa the poligar of Chikkanayakanahalli was terrified and surrendered the fort to Afzal Khan and paid a cash security of 20,000 *huns* as a price for his liberty.[77] Ranadullah occupied Chikkanayakanahalli and shifted Bhairappa to Hagalvadi, a small town 25 miles north- east of Gubbi in Tumkur district.[78] Adil Shah seems to have kept Ranadullah Khan himself in charge of Chikkanayakanahalli as we can gather from an epigraphical record from Domlapur in Chikkanayakanahalli taluk, which points to the rule of Ranadullah Khan in this place.[79]

Acquisition of Belur by Bijapur:

After consolidating his conquests round about Chikkanayakanahalli, Ranadullah sent Afzal Khan towards Belur.[80] Ranadullah Khan wanted to take Belur in order to check Kanthirava's march in this direction. In 1634 Chamaraja, the king of Mysore, had defeated Venkatadri Nayak of Belur and taken from him Channarayapattana a dependency of Belur. Chamaraja was also making preparations for his further march into the territory of Ikkeri through Belur. Now Ikkeri was an ally of Adil Shah. It was therefore obligatory on the part of Bijapur to give protection to Ikkeri. The Sultan therefore was anxious to occupy Belur. He despatched his army under Afzal Khan to take this important settlement. Afzal Khan defeated Venkatadri Nayaka. The Bijapuris occupied Belur and in turn gave to Venkatadri Nayaka, Sakkarepattana a town nearly 30 miles north of Belur.

Next, the Bijapur army marched towards Bangalore through Tumkur, occupying on the way the important centres of Kunigal and Doddaballapur.[81] An important feature of Ranadullah's march on Karnataka in 1640 is that if in 1638-39 he entered Mysore region from the north through Sira, in his expedition during 1640 he made his advance into this region from the north-west and reached Bangalore through Chikkanayakanahalli, Belur and Kunigal. Thus, on each occasion Ranadullah reached Bangalore through a different route north and north-west respectively, encircling parts of Shimoga, Chikkamagalur, Hassan and Tumkur districts. After making a full circle during his second march, Ranadullah landed again at Bangalore in the middle of 1640 preparatory to his march on Srirangapatna. The Sultan now controlled the most important routes to Bangalore in Mysore region namely first through Sira on the north secondly through Shimoga, Honnali, Chikkanayakanahalli and Tumkur in the north west and lastly through Belur and Kunigal in the west. Having thus controlled the important routes he marched forth towards Srirangapatna from the north through Bangalore.

Kanthirava was alarmed at the activities of the Bijapur army in Karnataka and started Strengthening the defences of his kingdom. As a part of defence preparations, Kanthirava laid siege to Ramagiridurga which guarded the entrance to Mysore from the north and wrested this place from Kempe Gowda an ally of the Sultan.[82] The Mysore army next attacked a part of the Bijapur forces under Abdullah Khan and completely routed it at Huliyurdurga.[83] Kanthirava who was hitherto in the defensive now took to offensive. He moved eastwards and wrested from Bijapur, Begur, one of Adil Shah's latest acquisitions in Karnataka.[84] Ranadullah had occupied

Begur in 1638 and had stationed Vedoji here. This was Adil Shah's first debacle in Karnataka. The fall of Begur was a morale booster to the Mysore army. Being unable to proceed further, the Bijapur army withdrew its steps. But Kanthirava followed his success and attacked the retreating forces and drove them out of Turuvekere where they had encamped. Having been defeated on all fronts, Ranadullah Khan returned to Bijapur even without reaching Srirangapatna.[85] But neither the *Muhammad Namah* nor the Maratha source says a word about these reverses of Adil Shah in Karnataka in 1640. Because this is an inconvenient point to them. These authorities never want to deal on any point that is not pleasing to them.

Third Adil Shahi Expedition:

Adil Shah could never bear these losses in Karnataka. In order to retrieve the losses he again sent an army under Mustafa Khan in December 1640. The immediate cause of this expedition was non- payment of tribute to Bijapur by Kanthirava. The Bijapur army moved in rapid marches. But in a sanguinary fight that was fought at Chandammanahalli near Bellur, dalvoy Nanjarajaiya of Mysore put to rout the Bijapur army.[86] Mustafa was forced to beat a hasty retreat.

Fourth Adil Shahi Expedition:

The Sultan could not reconcile himself to these losses in succession. According to the Palace history, Adil Shah sent another army under Vedoji Pant and Afzal Khan in March 1641. Vedoji had participated in the earlier Karnataka expeditions of Bijapur and had therefore some knowledge of the local politics and also the geography of Mysore. Besides, the loss of Begur in 1640 was rankling high in his mind and he was anxious to retrieve this injury. Vedoji is therefore said to have volunteered to lead the expedition.[87] Vedoji invaded Mysore. Shahji joined him.[88] Tiptur, Hampapura, Akkihebbal, Kannambadi, Ganni, Nallur, Madapura, Kattarighatta, Hosaholalu and other places round about Srirangapatna fell into the hands of the Bijapuris.[89] Vedoji successfully plundered towns and villages. But the Mysore army soon took the arms. Nanjaraj fell on the infiltrators and defeated them and drove them out of these places. Vedoji had to run back leaving behind, his arms and ammunitions.[90] The retreating Bijapur army however entered Turuvekere which they occupied putting to death the poligar of that place. Vedoji placed Afzal Khan in charge of this fort and went back to Bijapur. Thus, the Bijapuris acquired Turuvekere during this expedition through they could not retain their other acquisitions. However, the loss of Begur was compensated by Adil Shah's acquisition of Turuvekere. But Adil Shah was unable to take Srirangapatna inspite of his determined efforts. However, he had sufficiently advanced deep into the Karnataka territory and had asserted his authority over greater parts of this region and appointed able generals in-charge of these new acquisitions. Some of these were Basavapattana under Murtuza-Baig, Sira under Malik Raihan, Chikkanayakanahalli under Ranadullah Khan, Turuvekere under Afzal Khan and Bangalore under Shahji.

Mysore Madura Relations:

When Kanthirava was engaged in his wars with Ranadullah Khan, Tirumala Nayaka of Madura would often create disturbances in the south with the help of the local Poligars who were hostile to Mysore. Because the Nayak of Madura wanted to create conditions of insecurity in this region in order to divert Kanthirava's attention. Kanthirava had thus to face two problems simultaneously namely the invasion of Mysore by Bijapur in the north and the insurrections instigated by the Nayak of Madura in the south. Early in 1641 Pattadaiya, the eldest son of Ghatta Mudaliyar of Samballi, rebelled against Kanthirava and attacked Danayakanakote with the support of Tirumala Nayak of Madura.[91] But the Mysore army soon marched forth and defeated Ghatta Muduliyar first at Marathalli in 1641 and again at Samballi in August 1642. Marching through Tolya the Mysore army captured several places dependent on Ghatta Mudaliyar like Nallur, Changappadi, Tiruchengod and Trichinopoly and then returned to Srirangapatna with much booty.[92] The rebellion in the south was quelled and Kanthirava was free to meet the threats from Bijapur in the northern part of his kingdom.

Acquisition of Turuvekere by Kanthirava:

After putting down this rising in the south, Kanthirava turned towards Turuvekere. Vedoji had occupied this place in 1641 and had stationed afzal Khan there. The Raja of Mysore wanted to drive the Bijapuris as far away as possible from this region and remove all their military bases in Mysore. As a first step in this direction, Kanthirava sent in April 1642, his general Nanjarajaiya who defeated Afzal Khan and wrested from him Turuvekere along with Anebagur. Bijapur army held Turuvekere hardly for one year and was again compelled to surrender the same to Mysore. Nanjarajaiya left Hampendra in charge of this settlement and returned to Srirangapatna with much war spoils.

Internal Affairs:

By 1642 Kanthirava was able to thwart the repeated Bijapur attacks on Mysore and suppress the rebellions in the south of Mysore. Having failed in all his attempts to defeat Kanthirava the Sultan of Bijapur started making some sinister attempts to reduce the power of Mysore. He used to incite the local poligars and set them against Mysore. Adil Shah had lost to Kanthirava some of his important settlements in Mysore region like Begur, Turuvekere and so on. Now Shahji was apprehensive of the growing power of Mysore. For, Mysore was at any time likely to attack Bangalore. He was therefore trying to befriend the local poligars who were at war with Mysore so that he could expect their help in the event of any danger from Mysore. Govinda Vaidya writes that the Adil Shahi agents were active in all the local courts in Karnataka trying to seize any and every opportunity to crush Kanthirava with the help of the local poligars.

(a) Mysore and Hole Narasipur:

In the midst of external danger Kanthirava had to cope with internal troubles as well. For, some of the local chiefs such as the poligars of Hole Narasipur, Piriyapattana and so on, who had the support of the Sultan of Bijapur and the poligar of Ikkeri, used to revolt frequently against Mysore and disturb peace in this region. Though Kanthirava was confronted with problems on all sides, he was able to tackle these problems successfully and boost his image as a hero. Narasimha Nayaka the chief of Hole Narasipur who was brought under the rule of Mysore by Chamaraja Wodeyar in 1631 again became refractory. He with-held tribute which he had to pay to Mysore.[93] This enraged Kanthirava. Kanthirava sent his army under Nanjarajaiya to chastise the impudent rebel. The Mysore army invested Hole Narasipur. The fort was stormed in April 1644 and the Nayak was compelled to submit. The hostilities were terminated by a treaty according to which Narasimha Nayaka agreed to pay annual tribute and to surrender the villages Hampapura and Akkihebbal to Mysore.[94]

(b) Mysore and Piriyapattana:

For about a year after the fall of Hole Narasipur, Kanthirava was engaged in a severe encounter with Nanjunda Arasu, the *Changalva* chief of Piriyapattana. Govinda Vaidya gives us a detail account of this campaign and his account is to a great extent supplemented by the *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* and the *Mysore Palace Records.* The cause of this campaign was non payment of tribute to Mysore by the poligar of Piriyapattana. The chief of Piriyapattana had to pay annual tribute of 3000 *varahas* to Mysore according to an agreement made during the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar V. Nanjunda Arasu with-held payment.[95] Besides, the chief of Piriyapattana was in league with the Poligar of Ikkeri and the Sultan of Bijapur. Thus, while Kanthirava was trying to maintain the integrity of his kingdom the Sultan of Bijapur was trying to de-stabilise the power of Mysore in this region. Besides this power politics, we also see on the part of the local chiefs the under current of shifting of loyalties which was an important concept that moulded the course of political events of the period in this region. Though these local chiefs like the poligars of Hole Narasipur, Piriyapattana and so on were in theory subordinate to Mysore, they used to shift their loyalties frequently and ally themselves either with the poligar of Ikkeri or the Sultan of Bijapur and thus tried to neutralise the rising power of Kanthirava. The Raja of Mysore is said to have proposed to Nanjunda Arasu a defensive alliance against Bijapur. Nanjunda Arasu rejected this offer.[96] For he wanted to curtail the power of Kanthirava with the help of Adil Shah.

On seeing these turbulent activities of the Changalva chief Kanthirava sent an expedition to Piriyapattana under Nanjarajaiya in April 1645 to punish Nanjunda Arasu. The Mysore army laid siege to Piriyapattana.[97] Besides the chief of Ikkeri, Adil Shah also had sent his army under his generals Ankush Khan, Vedoji, Shahji and others for the assistance of the chief of Piriyapattana.[98] A tough fight ensued which lasted for nine months. At the end the Mysore army defeated Nanjunda Arasu and made a triumphal march into the town of Piriyapattana where they hoisted the banner of victory on 7 October 1645.[99]

According to the Palace Records, on the fall of Piriyapattana Nanjunda Arasu fled to Bettadapura. Kanthirava chased the rebel chief and took Bettadapura on 24 October 1645. The Mysore army pursued Nanjunda Arasu from place to place capturing on the way several important places like Rudrapattana, Kannagal and Kittur where Nanjunda Arasu took shelter and annexed these places to Mysore.[100] Finally, in December 1645 Kanthirava laid siege to Nanjarajapattana in Coorg where Nanjunda Arasu had sought the asylum of the king of Coorg. The Mysore army completely defeated the *Changalva* army. Nanjunda Arasu fell dead fighting and Kanthirava annexed Piriyapattana to Mysore.

(c) Acquisition of Kadaba, Kallur and Mayisamudra:

The fall of Hole Narasipur and Piriyapattana freed Kanthirava to a great extent from internal disturbances. He could now think of completing his conquests round about Turuvekere. After his conquest of Chikkanayakanahalli in 1640, Ranadullah Khan converted this area into an army centre and stationed many of his agents at several important places in this region, like Chelur, Kadba, Kallur, Mayisamudra and so on. All these agents were under the administrative control of the Bijapur Governor at Chikkanayakanahalli. Kanthirava wanted to remove these military bases and to free the area from the occupation of Bijapur forces. The first article of the foreign policy of Mysore was to keep on the watch along the whole length of the Bijapur frontier with a view to preventing the possible Adil Shahi aggressions from this side. Kanthirava had temporarily suspended his operations in this area after defeating afzal Khan in 1642 because of the rebellion at Samballi. Being now free from internal difficulties, he sent his army north wards in April 1646 which conquered Kadaba and Mayisamudra (Mayisandra) which belonged to the Sultan of Bijapur.[101] In the same year he took Kallur (Kaliyur) from one Pratapa Nayaka an agent of Adil Shah.[102]

Fifth Adil Shahi Expedition:

These developments in Karnataka were sorely disappointing to Adil Shah. He therefore decided to send another expedition to Mysore to defeat Kanthirava and to bring him under the authority of Bijapur. Kanthirava's acquisition of Kadaba, Mayisamudra and Kallur in 1646 enraged the Sultan of Bijapur. The loss of Turuvekere and the defeat of the Bijapur forces at Piriyapattana and Hole Narasipur were of much insult to him. The growing importance of Mysore roused the attention of the Sultan.[103] There was also another important factor leading to this campaign. That is, the innate rivalry between Sriranga III of Vijayanagar (Successor of Venkatapati Raya III and the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. The Sultans were fully bent on annihilating completely what reminded of Vijayanagar. Both the Sultans had concentrated their attention on the Carnatic. It was only in this region the king of Vijayanagar still wielded some influence. The Sultans wanted to fight Sriranga and take all his remaining possessions in this region. This expansionist policy of the Shahi Sultans created a fear complex in the mind of Sriranga. He therefore began to strengthen his possessions round about Vellore. The Bijapur army was making frequent incursions into Mysore and had already occupied Bangalore, Sira, Doddaballapur and so on. Sriranga was therefore taking necessary precautions to check the Adil Shahi expansion and to retrieve his losses. But the Sultan of Bijapur never wanted to allow Sriranga to regain his strength. These conditions induced Adil Shah to send an expedition into the Carnatic. Mustafa Khan, the Adil Shahi General, led the expedition. The grandest of all the expeditions which Bijapur conducted in the Carnatic was the one undertaken by Nawab Mustafa Khan in 1646-47. Mustafa was assisted by Shahji, Asad-ul-Khawanin and some other powerful feudatories of the realm like Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri, the poligar of Harapanahalli, Ambar Khan, Abaji Ghatge the brother of Kenge Hanuma, the *Desais* of Lakshmeswar and Koppal, Balaji Haibat Rao and so on. According to Cinnami an Italian visitor who visited Srirangapatna at that time the Adil Shahi army consisted of sixty thousand troops and a cavalry of thirty thousand.[104]

The Adil Shahi army left Bijapur on 5 June 1646 and landed in the neighbourhood of Turuvekere by the end of 1646. The Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam gives us a vivid description of a bloody battle that took place between Mysore and Bijapur at Turuvekere in January 1647. In this battle Mysore defeated Mustafa Khan and forced him to retreat.[105] But the Mysore army lost its commander Nanjarajaiya in this battle. Though Adil Shah made a determined bid to regain Turuvekere he could not. This was Adil Shah's final attempt to conquer land in the kingdom of Srirangapatna during the reign of Kanthirava. Govinda Vaidya's account of the battle at Turuvekere is corroborated by the writing of Cinnami. Cinnami writes that "Nor he (Kanthirava) fought only against the weak but also against the *Moors* who are very strong. Mustafa Khan who was a near relation and captain general of the *Idalcan* (Adil Shah) came at the head of 60,000 infantry against *Messore* (Mysore) but he was compelled to withdraw to the country from where he had come".[106]

REFERENCES

1. Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 57.
2. *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali*, p. 24; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, p. 21; *Annals*, 1, pp. 52-53.
3. *Hist.*, 1, p. 55.
4. *C. Vam.*, p. 33; *Annals*, 1, pp. 57-58; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, pp. 24-25; *C. Vi.*, p. 31, v. 68.
5. *Ibid.*; *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 8; *Annals*, 1, p. 59; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, pp. 25-26.
6. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 21
7. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, pp. 9-10.
8. *C.Vam.*, pp. 33-34; *C. Vi.*, ii, 71-72; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 21; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, p.26; *Annals*, 1, p. 61. It is said that in order to store these weapons Chamaraja established an armoury *(Alaginamane)* at Srirangapatna.

9. *Annals,* 1, p. 62; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* (Genealogical Manuscript); *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1.44 and 55; S.K.Aiyangar, *Ancient India,* p. 288.

10. *C.Vam.,* p. 34.

11. *EC.,* VII, Mu. 64; L.1:

    Kavibudarthim

    yasya Koshasya purtihi

12. *Hist.,* 1, p. 108; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* op.cit.

13. M.S., No. 18-8-1; Mad. Or. Lib.

14. K.B. 281; I.K.S., Mysore; *MAR.,* 1943, pp. 43-47.

15. *EC.,*, III, Hg. 97; *Ibid.,* VI, Sr. 111; V, Tn. 189; Ibid., II, Sb. 259; 352 and so on.

16. *EC.,* VII, Mu. 64, L. 5 and 6.

17. *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali,* pp. 32-35; *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam,* 11.85-86; *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1, pp. 33 and 44 ii. 55-56; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 22; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* (Genealogical Manuscript).

18. *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1, p. 33.

19. *Ibid.,* 1, p. 44.

20. *Ibid., op.cit.; Annals.,* 1, pp. 67-68.

21. *Hist.,* 1, p. 57.

22. *Annals,* 1, pp. 63-64; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* p. 28; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 22.

23. *Hist,* 1, p. 110.

24. *KNV.,* IV, 62.

25. *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1, p. 45; *Annals,* 1, p. 65; *Mys. Do. Vam.* (Geneological chart)

26. *KNV.,* IV, 82, 83. These princes can not be identified with the dalvoy brothers Nanjarajaiya and Lingarajaiya of Hura. For we learn from epigraphical source (*EC.,* III, Hg. 116) that Lingarajaiya the dalvoy of Kanthirava was the son of Madhava Nayaka of Hura.

27. *KNV.,* IV, 84, 85, 86.

28. Shervani, H.K., *Tarik E Deccan,* pp. 82-83.

29. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer,* Vol. I, pp. 35-37.

30. Faruhi-Astrabadi. *Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi,* 375 b, 376 a. Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 78.

31. *Mys. Gaz.,* Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 2427.

32. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XI, 1 to 7; *Muhammad Namah* (in *Shiv. Nib*), p. 97.

33. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission Vol. XI, 1928, p. 108; *Keladi Nripa Vijayam,* VI, pp. 97-98, *Vs.* 30- 31; *Annals,* 1, p. 72.

34. Aiyangar, S.K., *Rise of Maratha Power in the South* (*Shiv. Nib.*, p. 40).

35. Faruhi Astrabadi, *Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi,* p. 316 *Basatin-us-Salatin,* p. 318. Before undertaking the expenditions Ranadullah Khan was honoured with the title of Rustume-E- Zaman. *Muhammad Namah (Shiv. Nib.* p. 97), Shervani and Joshi (ed.) *History of Medieval Deccan,* p. 361; H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* 1, p. 118; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 14; *Mys. Gaz.,* Vol. II, pt. iii, pp. 2369-2370; Varma, *Hist. of Bij.,* pp. 137-138.

36. Muhammad Zahur, *Muhammad Namah (Shiv. Nib.),* p. 96; Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin-Us-Salatin,* p. 317.

37. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 15.

38. Faruhi Astrabadi, *Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi,* 378a, 379a; Muhammad Zahur, *Muhammad Namah (Shiv. Nib.),* p. 97; Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin-Us-Sulatin,* p. 318; *Keladi Nripa Vijayam,* VI, p. 98; V, 32; Rice, *Gaz.,* 1, p. 359.

39. Linganna, *Keladi Nripa Vijayam,* VI, p. 98, V. 34.

40. M.N. *Shiv. Nib.,* pp. 97-99.

41. Narasimhaiya, S.K. *Founder of Bangalore,* p. 30.

42. Channaiya was formerly in the service of Jagadevaraya of Channapattana. He was the chief of the army of Jagadevaraya and killed dalvoy Linganna of Mysore in 1626 when the latter attacked Channapattana (Supra, p. 36). Channaiya seems to have fled to Bijapur subsequent to the fall of Channapattana in 1630 and sought the assistance of Adil Shah against Kanthirava.

43. Muhammad Zahur, *Muhammad Namah (Shiv. Nib.),* pp. 97-99.

44. *Muhammad Namah* (in *Shiv. Nib.,* pp. 98-99); *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XI, 43; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* p. 30; Shervani and Joshi (ed.) *History of Medieval Deccan,* op.cit.; Varma, *Hist. of Bij.,* p. 139; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* pp. 15-16; Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 66 (The *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* XI, 12 to 17) gives us an interesting account of about a dozen poligars that subscribed their forces to the Sultan on this occasion. Some of them were the poligars of Harapanahalli, Kanakagiri, Sandur, Rayadurga, Kundurpe, Belur, Palupare, narasimhapura and so on. Besides giving us the numerical strength of the Bijapur army that marched on Mysore on this occasion, this account of Govinda Vaidya gives us the political geography of Karnataka in the first half of the seventeenth century.

45. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XI, 44; H.V. Rao, *Hist.,* 1, p. 119; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 16.

46. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XVI, 67-68; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 21.

47. *Muhammad Namah* (*Shiv. Nib.,* p. 99).

48. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XI, 61.

49. *Muhammad Namah,* op.cit.

50. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XI, 66-67.

51. *KNV.,* XI, 11-107; XII, 1-70; *C.Vam.,* p. 36.

52. *Ibid.,* XI, 84-98.

53. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XII, 77-87. Govinda Vaidya mentions the chief of Turuvekere also as a feudatory who supplied his forces for the assistqnce of Kanthirava during this siege (KNV., XII, 82). Here there is some contradiction in Govinda Vaidya's account. For, while describing the forces of the Sultan he mentions the chief of Turuvekere also as having sent his army to the assistance of Ranadullah Khan in the same campaign (*Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XI, 102). But a close survey of the sources reveals that Turuvekere was not at that time under the control of Mysore. Turuvekere was one of the independent principalities that had come upon the debris of Vijayanagar and was more under the influence of the ruler of Ikkeri at that time. The Mysore ruler had no control over this principality. Under these circumstances it is hard to believe that Turuvekere would ever have joined Kanthirava in the campaign of 1639.

54. *Ibid.,* XII, 9-14.

55. *Mys. DO. Vam.,* pp. 35-36.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *KNV.,* XIII, 54-62.

58. *EC., III, Nj.* 212, i, L. 42-45.

59. *Muhammad Namah (Shiv Nib.),* pp. 99-100.

60. *Shivabharat,* IX, *Vs.* 39-44.

61. ii. p. 171.

62. Wilks *Hist.* 1, 59; H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* 1, pp. 123-124; Shervani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), *History of Medieval Deccan,* Vol. I, p. 361; Sharma Rao, *History of Modern Mysore,* Vol. I, p. 6.

63. Varma, *Hist. of Bij.,* p. 140; Nilakantha Sastri, *Further Sources,* Vol. I, p. 343.

64. *Anc. Ind.,* p. 293.

65. *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 18; Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic,* pp. 26 and 49.

66. *Muhammad Namah.* op.cit.

67. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History,* Vol. 1, p. 346, f.n. 1.

68. *Keladi Nripa Vijayam,* VI, pp. 98-99, *KNV.,* XVI, 22;

Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 19; Nilakantha Sastri, *Further Sources,* Vol. I, pp. 344-345; Varma, *Hist. of Bij.,* pp. 140- 141.

69. *MN., (Shiv Nib.),* p. 101.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Annals,* 1, p. 84.

72. *Kanthirava Narasarqja Vijayam,* XVI, 24 to 29. *Keladi Nripa Vijayam,* VI, pp. 98-99, V. 34.

73. *Muhammad Namah (Shiv Nib.),* pp. 100-102, Varma, *Hist. of Bij.* pp. 140-141; *Kanthirava Narasarajaya Vijayam,* XVI, 29, Nilakahtha Sastri, *Further Sources,* p. 345.

74. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* pp. 23 and 26.

75. *Mys. Gaz.,* Vol. V, p. 1276.

76. *Muhammad Namah (Shiv. Nib.),* pp. 101-102; K.A.Nilakantha Sastri, *Further Sources,* p. 346; *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XVI, V. 53; *Poligars of Hagalvadi,* p. 14.

77. *Muhammad Namah (Shiv. Nib.),* pp. 101-102.

78. *Poligars of Hagalvadi,* pp. 15-16.

79. *MAR.,* 1922, pp. 122-123.

80. *Muhammad Namah, op.cit.,* p. 102; Varma, *Hist. of Bij.,* p. 141; H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* 1, p. 126; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 21.

81. *Muhammad Namah, op.cit.;* Varma, *Hist. of Bij. op.cit.;* H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* 1, p. 126; Nilakantha Sastri, *Further Sources,* Vol. I, p. 346; Shervani and Joshi, *History of Medieval Deccan, op.cit.;* Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 21.

82. *KNV.,* XVI, *Vs.* 32-54; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* p. 38.

83. *KNV.,* XVI, *Vs.* 55-57.

84. *Ibid.,* 59-70; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 21; H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* 1, p. 126.

85. *Ibid.,* 71-82; H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* 1, p. 127; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* pp. 21-22.

86. *Annals,* 1, p. 85.

87. *Annals,* 1, pp. 86-87; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 23.

88. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 23.

89. *Annals, op.cit.*

90. *Ibid.,* p. 87; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* pp. 38-39.

91. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XVII, 9-15; 36-40.

92. *Ibid., Vs.* 9-40; *Mys. Do. Vam.,* p. 39; *Mys. Do. Pur.,* ii, p. 11.

93. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XVIII, 1-7.

94. *Ibid.,* 16-17; *Mys Do. Pur.,* ii, 13-14; *Annals,* 1, p. 69; *Kudzan,* p. 202.

95. *Annals,* 1, p. 71.

96. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,* XVIII, 21.

97. *Ibid.*, 48-51; *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, 14; *Annals*, 1, pp. 70-72; *Mys. Do. Vam.*, pp. 40-41.

98. *Ibid.*, 80, 81, 84, 90, 94, 95, 113, 114, 117.

99. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 178-181; *Annals*, 1, pp. 70-71.

100. *Annals*, 1, pp. 71-72; H.V.Rao, *Hist.*, 1, pp. 134-137; S.K.Aiyangar, *Anc. Ind.*, pp. 294-295; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 64; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, pp. 27-30.

101. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, pp. 15-17; *Mys. Raj. Cha.* p. 23; Kudzan, p. 203; *C.VI.*, 11, V, 138; *C.Vam.*, p. 37; *Kanthirava Narasaraj Vijayam*, XXV, *Vs.* 33-34.

102. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Do. Vam.*, p. 31; *KNV.*, XXV, 33.

103. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*, XIX, 2-10.

104. Feroli, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 25, 1947, p. 196; *Muhammad Namah (Shiv. Nib.)*, pp. 111-12.

105. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*, XIX, 82.

106. Rev. Feroli, S.J., *op.cit.*

CHAPTER III

CONSOLIDATION AND ASCENDANCY (1647-1673)

The period from 1647 to 1673 is very important in the history of Mysore. For, it is during this period that Mysore consolidated its power in Karnataka. The period covers the later part of the rule of Kanthirava Narasaraj from 1647 to 1659 and the reign of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar from 1659 to 1673. The two outstanding events that took place during this period, namely, the expulsion of Sriranga III from Belur in 1663 and the defeat of Chokkanatha at Erode in 1667, enhanced the power and prestige of Mysore which now emerged out in bolder relief as the sole successor of the empire of Vijayanagar in Karnataka.

The defeat of Adil Shah at Turuvekere in 1646 only prevented the Bijapur army from entering the kingdom of Kanthirava. But the more important task of the Bijapur army was to march on Vellore and to shake Sriranga there. So, undaunted by its defeat at Turuvekere, the Bijapur army marched through Shivaganga towards the kingdom of Sriranga and invaded the Territory of Jagadevaraya. Jagadevaraya's territory was situated to the south east of Bangalore. It consisted of the forts of Virabhadradurga, Kanakagiri, Raidurgh, Kaveripattanam, Ratngiri and so on. This was the only province in which Sriranga still exercised his authority.. Adil Shah was very eager for wresting this province and to get rid of Sriranga. Mustafa left Shivaganga and encamped at Masti in Kolar district early in 1647 with a big army consisting of one lakh foot soldiers and 12,000 horses. But Sriranga had to fight under very adverse conditions. His own feudatories, worked against him at this crucial period. The Nayaks of Tanjore, Madura and Jinji who were the vassals of Vijayanagar, revolted against Sriranga and submitted to Adil Shah. This policy of shifting of the loyalties by his own feudatories affected very much Sriranga's interests in Vellore and hastened his decline to a great extent.

In addition to this, Kanthirava of Mysore never went to the assistance of Sriranga at this critical period. Kanthirava remained neutral. Because he aimed at political independence and therefore allowed Sriranga's affairs to get worsened. Added to this, Shivappa Nayaka of Keladi another feudatory of Sriranga, allied himself with Adil Shah. For, Shivappa wanted to get the Sultan's recognition for his (Shivappa's) succession to the throne of Ikkeri. Because, Shivappa had come to the throne by putting to death his uncle Virabhadra Nayaka, the lawful heir to the throne. Shivappa therefore courted friendship of the Sultan by sending him military aid during Mustafa's expedition to the Carnatic in 1647.[1] Sriranga had thus to fight alone the Bijapur forces.

He rushed with his army to the scene, but was completely defeated at Masti and Virabhadradurga.[2] Mustafa soon plundered Jagadevaraya's territory and marched on Vellore. In the mean while the Golkonda army under Mir Jumla had marched through the east coast reducing Vinukonda, Udayagiri, Mausalipatam, Ongole, Nellore and Chittur and had entered the kingdom of Sriranga. The two armies converged on Vellore in February 1647.

Sriranga was unable to carry on the war single handed. A big battle took place in the neighbourhood of Vellore in February 1647. Sriranga, who had no means of defending the capital, surrendered. The hostilities came to an end by the conclusion of a treaty according to which Sriranga agreed to pay 20 lakh *huns* and 150 elephants as war indemnity to Adil Shah.[3] Mustafa stayed in Vellore for one month and then returned to Bijapur entrusting the administration of the conquered territories to Asad-ul-Khawanin and Shahji Bhonsle.[4]

This war delivered a great blow to Sriranga's authority in the Carnatic. Sriranga lost completely the territory of Jagadevaraya. On the fall of the viceroyalty of Channapattana, Jagadevaraya lost his possessions in Mysore and held only the Baramahalas as a feudatory of the king of Vijayanagar. Sriranga now lost this province of Jagadevaraya also. His authority was now confined only to Vellore and to the area near about that place. Secondly the king of Vijayanagar, once the sovereign of a big empire, now became a feudatory of the Sultan of Bijapur. Adil Shah's dream of subjugating Sriranga and bringing him under the authority of the Sultan of Bijapur was almost complete. Thirdly, Mustafa's defeat at Turuvekere foiled Adil Shah's attempt to reduce Mysore and to make Kanthirava a vassal of the Sultan of Bijapur. The successive revereses of Bijapur in Mysore and Sriranga's losses in Jagadevaraya's territory in 1646-47 correspondingly enhanced the prestige of Kanthirava locally. While many of the local chiefs in Karnataka and in the Baramahals including Sriranga himself submitted to Adil Shah, Kanthirava alone was able to save the territorial integrity of Mysore by repulsing the Adil Shahi attacks on Mysore.

Adil Shah's victories in the Carnatic during 1646-47 alarmed Qutab Shah of Golkonda. For, Qutb Shah was afraid that Adil Shah would get the major share of Srirang's kingdom and the balance of power in the Carnatic would tilt in favour of Bijapur. Qutb Shah now wanted to avert this and was anxious to march on the kingdom of Sriranga Raya and grab as much land as possible. He got an opportunity in 1648 to fulfil his desire for territorial acquisitions in the Carnatic. Sriranga's dwindling power at Vellore encouraged his feudal chiefs to throw off their yoke of Vijayanagar and to assert their independence. The Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji who were Sriranga's vassals were hankering after independence. Sriranga's main endeavour was to unite the different centrifugal forces in his kingdom and present as much of a united front as possible to the surging tide of the Shahi invasions. The rapproachment with his rebellious Nayaks could not be realised and he failed completely in his desperate efforts.

Being animated by a short sighted policy of self interest, the Nayak of Madura formed a league, enlisting in his defection those of Tanjore and Jinji against their common sovereign. But, soon the Nayak of Tanjore betrayed his allies and informed Sriranga of the nefarious project. Sriranga was enraged at the disloyal acts of his feudatories and set out on an expedition to punish the recalcitrant Nayaks of Jinji and Madura. He first reduced Jinji and then proceeded on Madura. Tirumal's position now became precarious. Too weak to face his sovereign openly he resorted to artifice. Swayed only by the fury and desire for vengeance, Tirumala Nayaka secretly addressed the Subha of Golkonda and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore. Qutb Shah did not require more. At once he despatched his army under his general Mir Jumla. Mir Jumla soon entered this opulent kingdom and delivered it to devastation. Sriranga soon realised the critical situation he was reaching. "Finding no chance of success but in an alliance with the three Nayaks, he invited them to join him against the common enemy and offered them favourable conditions which were accepted". Pleased with their good disposition he joined them and started making all the necessary preparations for defence and attack. The Sultan of Golkonda was enraged by the action of the three Nayaks in forming the union with Sriranga. So, the Sultan resolved to complete the conquest of the kingdoms of these tributaries of Sriranga.

Fall of Jinji:

The Golkonda army first reduced Vijayaraghava Nayak of Tanjore and then marched on Jinji on its way to Madura. Tirumala Nayak of Madura now relaised that his selfish attempt to subdue Sriranga with foreign help had proved dangerous to him. He was now left without any supporters. And to oppose Golkonda he now sought the assistance of Bijapur. In January 1648 Adil Shah sent a cavalry of 17,000 under Mustafa Khan to the aid of Tirumala. With this cavalry and 30,000 infantry of his own, Tirumala proceeded to Jinji. But soon Adil Shah betrayed Tirumala Nayak by joining Mir Jumla. This union of the two Sultans created much panic among the besieged parties. The 17,000 cavalry of Adil Shah continued the siege of Jinji which they were called for to defend. The 30,000 Madura infantry joined the troops of the king of Jinji. "In the midst of the general confusion the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy who rushed to it and delivered the town - the richest in all these countries - to pillage. The booty was immense consisting of silver, gold, pearls and precious stones of inestimable value".[5] "Thus after conquering a vast country subduing two powerful kings and gathering incalculable treasures without being put to the necessity of giving a single battle and almost without loosing a single soldier the Dekhan army returned to Bijapur where it made a triumphal entry".[6]

Sriranga's flight to the Court of Kanthirava:

During these systematic conquests of Bijapur and Golkonda, Sriranga had joined his southern feudatories with the intention of driving away the foreign invaders. But, his action was wholly unequal to his ambitions. Proenza writes that "Narasinga" (Sriranga) spent more than a year with the three Nayaks in the midst of festivities, feasts and pleasures during which the Muhammadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Soon vain joys gave place to jealousies and divisions". In order to promote their own interests the three Nayaks again deserted Sriranga. "Rejected again by the Nayaks, Narasinga (Sriranga) established his court in the forest of thieves *(Kallans)* lying to the north of Tanjore where he spent four months a prey to all discomforts; his courtiers soon abandoned him and this grand monarch, once the richest in India, was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore once the vassal of his crown". He received from Kanthirava of Mysore an invitation to choose for his stay a province more agreeable to him and assurance of a brilliant treatment worthy of his rank; he eagerly accepted the offer so obliging and found a hospitality which even surpassed the promise made to his ambassadors"[7]. This statement of Proenza that Sriranga was given asylum by Kanthirava Narasaraj of Mysore is corroboarated by the Kannada source *Mysuru Rajacharitre.*[8] According to the *Srirangapattanada Kaifiyat* Sriranga retired to the Umattur country from where he is said to have recovered many of his lost possessions.[9] This has obviously a reference to Kanthirava's conquests in the Baramahal in 1650-51.

Mysore-Magadi Relations :

When Sriranga was thus leading the life of a homeless wanderer, the Deccan Sultans were busy in completing the conquest of his kingdom. Just at that time Shahji was arrested at Jinji in 1648 by Adil Shah on a charge of being in league with he Sultan of Golkonda and was taken to Bijapur in fetters. The absence of Shahji in Karnataka gave a good opportunity to Kanthirava to strike at the possessions of Adil Shah in this region. Besides, Kanthirava had now given asylum to Sriranga. He tried to use the imperial fugitive as a cloak for his aggrandising schemes. Just at that time Bijapur and Golkonda were drifting apart consequent on the differences regarding the division of spoils. The recent successes of Bijapur in the Carnatic had roused the jealousy of Golkonda. Mir Jumla, the Qutab-Shahi general, resolved to dislodge the Bijapuris from the Carnatic altogether. To achieve this goal he opened negotiations with the Raja of Mysore whom he instigated to revolt against Bijapur. He also persuaded Sriranga to return to the Carnatic and to recapture his possessions conquered by the Sultan of Bijapur. Relying on Mir Jumla's support, Sriranga returned to Vellore where he raised his army. Kanthirava seized this opportunity and laid siege to Magadi where he defeated *Immadi* Kempe Gowda, an ally of Adil-Shah and captured Hebbur in Yalahankanad in 1650.[10] This victory gave Kanthirava access to the territory of Jagadevaraya in the Baramhals. Kanthirava now entered the Carnatic where he started aggressions against Adil Shah. During 1650-1654 he was involved in some major wars round about Vellore against the Sultan of Bijapur.

Why did Kanthirava interfere in the politics of the Carnatic? It is hard to admit Hayavadana Rao's view that Kanthirava took up the cause of Sriranga in the Baramahals as a "loyal feudatory of the empire".[11] For, by that time Vijayanagar was no longer a vital force. It was merely a name after 1565, just as the Mughal empire after 1757. In fact Sriranga was forced out of his capital Vellore and was wandering without a home at that time. After his defeat at Vellore in 1647 Sriranga became a "king without a kingdom and a helpless fugitive at the court of one of his subordinates".[12] It was too late to think of "imperial restoration" at that time. If, as Hayavadana Rao assumes, Kanthirava took up the "imperial cause" in the Carnatic, he could have done this still earlier atleast before Sriranga's defeat at Vellore in 1647, when Mysore was actually free from all troubles and enjoyed peace at home. The fact that Kanthirava Narasaraj remained neutral in Sriranga's wars between 1647-1649 shows that he was not interested in the cause of Sriranga at all. Kanthirava's main object in entering the Carnatic in

1650 was his self interest. He was interested in the reduction of the kingdom of Madura, the traditional enemy of Mysore. Now as Mir Jumla, the general of the Golkonda army and Sriranga were by his side, Kanthirava felt it would be easier and safer for him to attack Madura through the territory of Jagadevaraya in the east. Because here he could mobilise greater resources with the help of Mir Jumla and Sriranga to fight Adil Shah who was their common enemy and then to attack Madura. S.K. Aiyangar also holds the view that Kanthirava was not interested in the cause of Sriranga in the Carnatic.[13] A critical examination of the different sources reveals that it was his desire, to conquer Madura that compelled Kanthirava to interfere in the politics of the Carnatic and to start the wars of expansion in this region during 1650-1652.

Kanthirava's Conquests in the Carnatic:

In 1650-1651 he sent his army under his dalvoy Hamparajaiya who conquered from Adil Shah, Sulekere Durga, Nayakavadi, Yalahankanad, Channagiri and Basavapattana. He further acquired from the *Changalva* ruler Tunga and its dependent villages Ganni, Madapura and Kattarighatta.[14] Having thus strengthened his position locally, Kanthirava entered into an alliance with Siddi Raihan the Nawab of Sira.[15] A union of three powers namely, Sriranga, Kanthirava and Siddi Raihan of Sira came about. According to Zahur "the Raja of Mysore came out of his territory at the instigation of Siddi Raihan and wrested all the forts in the Jagadev country which Mustafa Khan had taken with so much effort".[16] Between November 1652 and January 1653 Kanthirava ran over the Carnatic and acquired in quick succession several important forts in the territory of Jagadevarya in the Baramahals like Ratnagiri, Virabhadradurga, Kengerekote, Kanakagiri, Rayadurga, Melagiri, Kaveripattana, Arjunakote, Pennagara, Denkanikote, Dharmapuri and other places from one Yatibal Rao also called Balaji Hayabat Rao, a representative of Adil Shah in this region.[17]

Adil Shah's counter attacks and the fall of Vellore:

Kanthirava's march into the Baramahals and the combination of the different rulers of the south caused a great concern to Tirumals Nayaka of Madura. Tirumala Nayaka was worried that Kanthirava's next step would be towards the kingdom of Madura. The only way now left to him was to turn towards Bijapur. He appealed to Adil Shah for help,[18] opened to his army again the passage through the ghats and urged him to declare war against the king of Mysore.[19] Proenza writes "Tirumala Nayaka, instead of co-operating in the establishment of the affairs of Narasinga, recommended negotiations with the Muhammadans and urged them to declare war against the king of Mysore".[20]

As soon as Adil Shah got Tirumala's request, he sent his army for the relief of Madura. The Bijapur army soon reduced Mir Jumla to submission in 1652 and wrested the prestiguous fort of Penukonda from Sriranga after inflicting on him a humiliating defeat in March 1653. The fall of Penukonda and the defeat of Mir Jumla created a panic among the confederates.

Encouraged by these successes, the Bijapur army led by Khan Muhammad, (Khan-i-Khanan) successor of Mustafa Khan, entered the territory of Jagadevaraya and laid siege to Krishnagiri the strongest bastion of Kanthirạva in this region. A terrific battle was fought here in which Kanthirava was routed and was forced to flee for life.[21] The Bijapur army followed the victory and captured four other important forts which Kanthirava had occupied in this region.[22] Sriranga's position again became very critical. He sent Mir Jumla to the Mughal court seeking the aid of Shah-Jahan against Adil Shah. In the mean while Kanthirava sent a "numberless force" to the frontier fort of Kaveripattanam under his dalvoy Dasarajaiya in order to retrieve his defeat at Krishnagiri. Khan Muhammad despatched a detachment under Siddi Masaud against Dasarajaiya and himself marched on Vellore. The Bijapur army under Siddi Masaud met the army of Kanthirava at Kaveripattanam in October 1653. A battle took place here in which Dasarajaiya the Dalvoy of Mysore was slain.[23] Siddi Masaud soon recaptured all the Adil Sahi forts taken by Kanthirava in Jagadevaraya's territory and drove Kanthirava out of this region. Having sent siddi Masaud against Kanthirava. Khan Muhammad besieged the fort of Vellore. In a decisive battle fought at Vellore, Sriranga was completely defeated in April 1654. He was at last forced to conclude a treaty with Khan Muhammad according to which Vellore was taken by Adil Shah and instead Sriranga was given Chandragiri along with its dependencies.[24] Sriranga now completely lost his power in Baramahals. This was indeed an irrecoverable loss to him. Adil Shah's desire to raze out completely the very name of Vijayanagar and to hoist the banner of Bijapur in its place was now complete. Thus, the year 1654 may be said to mark the nadir of Sriranga's fortune.

During 1653-1654 Kanthirava suffered heavy losses in the Carnatic. He was finally obliged to sue for peace by paying a heavy war indemnity and annual tribute to the Sultan of Bijapur.[25] This was the highest water mark of the expansionist activities of Bijapur in the Carnatic. Thus, by a policy of systematic conquests in the south, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda completed the acquisition of what remained of Vijayanagar. And by a treaty concluded between the two powers in 1656, Bijapur got for its share the whole of Baramahals and part of Mysore while Golkonda was given the area to the east of the Baramahals including Chittur, Chandragiri, Gooty, Gurramkonda, kanjivaram and so on. The Bijapur possessions to the north of Mysore Comprising of Bangalore, Kolar, Doddaballapur and Sira came to be called Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat, while the territory below the Ghats corresponding to the Jagadevaray's territory conterminous with the south-eastern boundary of Mysore, came to be called Karnataka Hyderabad Balaghat.[26]

Fall of Chandragiri and Sroramga's flight to the Court of Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri:

We have seen above that during the Adil Shahi raids in the Carnatic Sriranga had sent Mir Jumla to the court of the Mughal emperor at Delhi in 1656 soliciting Shah jahan's help against Bijapur.[27] During Mir Jumla's absence Qutb Shah wanted to consolidate his acquisitions in the Canatic. For, Mir Jumla had rebelled against Qutb Shah and was ruling like an independent prince in the Carnatic without caring for his soveign. Qutb Shah was not happy at this state of affairs and wanted to bring all his recent acquisitions in Sriranga's kingdom under his direct control. Absence of Mir Jumla from the Carnatic gave Qutb Shah an opportunity to achieve his object. Qutb Shah now entered into an alliance with Sriranga in order to deprive Mir Jumla of his possessions in the Carnatic. Encouraged by the promises of Qutb Shah, Sriranga concerted measures to recover his lost possessions.[28] The death of Muhammad Adil Shah in November 1656 and the invasion of his kingdom by Aurang Zeb in March 1657 freed Sriranga from the fear of an attack from the side of Bijapur. However, Sriranga could not realise his object owing to the sudden change in the attitude of the Sultan of Golkonda. The friendly gesture which the latter made to Sriranga was directed by considerations of policy. For, while leaving for Delhi, Mir Jumla had entrusted the safety of his possessions in the Carnatic to the charge of Srirangâ. To entice Sriranga from this alliance Abdullah Qutb Shah feigned friendship with Sriranga and roused his ambition by holding out false hopes of restoration of his kingdom. But with the passing away of the Mughal danger and the disappearance of Mir Jumla from the arena of the Deccan politics, the need to placate Sriranga was over. Now throwing away this mask of friendship Qutb Shah sent his armies to re-establish his authority in the Carnatic.

There was another important cause for Qutb Shah's military action on Sriranga at Chandragiri. On the fall of Vellore in 1654 Adil Shah acquired this place and in turn gave to Sriranga Chandragiri along with its dependencies. Chandragiri is situated in the Karnataka Hyderabad Balaght which went to the share of Qutb Shah according to the treaty of 1654. Qutb Shah could not reconcile himself to the existence of Sriranga within the sphere of his influence and wanted to drive him out of this region. He therefore started fresh aggressions in the territory of Sriranga.

In 1658 Qutb Shah sent his army against the *Rayal.* The Golkonda army took from him Chandragiri, the only principality which was formerly given to him by Khan Muhammad in 1654. The result of this war was the extinction of the last fragment of the empire of Vijayanagar. Sriranga again became a homeless fugitive. We learn from the *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* that Sriranga was given asylum by Shivappa nayaka of Ikkeri.[29] We have a few inscriptions which point to the rule of Sriranga over Belur region during this period.[30] The *Shivatatvaratnakara* states that Shivappa captured the fort of Velapuri (Belur) and handed it over to Sriranga who was wandering without a home.[31] This is confirmed by the *Keladi Nripa Vijayam.*[32] But it is difficult to belive that Shivappa conquered Belur as these two sources point out. Because, shivappa was an ally of Bijapur, and if he had assisted Sriranga, the Bijapuris would surely concentrate on the reduction of Ikkeri. A critical study of the sources seems to suggest that after he lost Chandragiri in 1658 Sriranga must have preferred to stay at Belur and attempted to drive out Adil Shah's representative there. Belur, at that time, was in the control of Krishnappa Nayaka. Sriranga had to conquer the same from Krishnappa. it appears that Kanthirava Nrasaraja Wodeyar of Mysore helped Krishnappa Nayaka of Belur in this war against Sriranga.[33] In this war Shivappa might have clandestinely helped Sriranga. This point seems to have been over emphasised by the court poets of Ikkeri. Though Tirumalarya tells us that Shivappa gave asylum to Sriranga this author also never states that Shivappa conquered Belur specially for Sriranga. None of the inscriptions of Sriranga in Belur region during 1658-59 suggests that Shivappa handed over this principality to Sriranga duly conquering the same from the Sultan of Bijapur.

Even if we assume, as the Keladi sources say, that Shivappa helped Sriranga in his war at Belur, we have to see how far Shivappa was interested in helping Sriranga at such a critical period of the latter's career. The *Keladi Nripa Vijayam* and the *Shivatatvaratnakara* state that it was out of sheer loyalty that Shivappa espoused the cause of Sriranga. But this gesture which Shivappa made to Sriranga seems to be dictated by considerations of policy. According to *Chikkadevaraja Vamasavali* it was nothing but Shivappa's ill will against Kanthirava of Mysore that made him to take up the cause of Sriranga.[34] The Nayak of Ikkeri was afraid of a possible coalition between Kanthirava and Sriranga. In order to draw the latter away from any such alliance Shivappa befriended Sriranga and helped him to settle down at Belur. Further, Belur was on the border between Mysore and Ikkeri and was the bone of contention between Mysore, Ikkeri and Bijapur. Belur, at that time, was in the possession of the Sultan of Bijapur. Srirnaga had to conquer it from Krishnappa Nayaka an ally of the Sultan.[35]

We may notice here that Shivappa did not keep Sriranga anywhere in the principality of Ikkeri but allowed him to stay in a much disputed territory. Shivappa took this action to keep Kanthirava and Sriranga at war with each other and thus to neutralise Kanthirava. Shivappa wanted to make Belur a buffer state as it would save Ikkeri from the threats of Mysore. It therefore appears probable, that it is only to serve his own cause and not that of Vijayanagar that Shivappa assisted Sriranga to settle down at Belur. This scheme of Shivappa did not yield the desired fruit in the long run. But Shivappa's arrangements bear some proof to his diplomacy, as we see below.

Between 1656 and 1659 we notice certain un-foreseen developments in Karnataka and the Deccan. These developments had a slight impact on the history of Mysore as well. Muhammad Adil Shah died in 1656. The succession to the throne of Bijapur was disputed. As a result there were a series of conspiracies and a civil was broke out in the Adil Shahi capital. Shahji was busy in consolidating his acquisitions at Kanakagiri where he had just then lost his son Sambhaji. Shahji had kept Ekoji at Bangalore.. Ekoji was a weak ruler. Taking advantage of these developments some of the Poligars in Karnataka threw off their allegiance to Bijapur and revolted. Sriranga had occupied Belur. Kanthirava's advance in the north-west was thus obstructed because of Sriranga's presence at Belur. Shivappa's diplomacy proved satisfactory to some extent in this direction. When his passage towards Ikkeri was thus blocked, Kanthirava seems to have set his eyes on Bangalore and tried to drive out Shahji from Karnataka. He instigated *Mummadi* Kempe Gowda of Magadi to revolt against Ekoji.[36] Ekambara Dikshitar son of Muktisvara Dikshitar, the court poet of *Mummadi* Kempa Virappagowda alludes to a war between *Mummadi* Kempe Gowda and Ekoji.[37] This is obviously a reference to the developments in Mysore in 1658. After the conquest of Hebbur by Kanthirava in 1650 from *Immadi* Kempe

Gowda, hostilities began to grow between the chief of Magadi and Shahji. For, Shahji did not help Kempe Gowda in his war with Mysore according to the treaty of 1638.[38] On the other, hand Kanthirava seems to have maintained friendly relations with Magadi in order to de-stabilise Shaji at Bangalore. Conditions now proved favourable to Kempe Gowda because of the disturbances at Bijapur and the pre-occupation of Shahji at Kanakagiri. Kampe Gowda had lost Bangalore to Adil shah in 1638. This was a great loss to the Gowda who naturally resented the existence of the Maratha settlement in Karnataka. It is presumably under these circumstances that Kempe Gowda attacked Ekoji. For, we have nothing else on record to justify Kempe Gowda's action on Bangalore.[39] Ekoji was now practically isolated. He could not get any succour either from Bijapur or from Shaji. Under these circumstances it is not unlikely that Kanthirava explorited the situation and helped Kempe Gowda in this war. And Ekambara Dikshitar writes that in this war Ekoji was defeated amidst heavy losses - both men and ammunitions.[40]

After an eventful reign of 21 years, Kanthirava died on 31 July 1659.[41] Kanthirava Narasaraj came to the throne of Mysore during the most critical period of its history. This was the period when this region was speedily being over-run by the Adil Shahi forces. Besides, within this region also there were several forces which were aiming at self advancement. These forces were strongly working to wreck the power of Mysore in order to achieve their selfish ends. In his march on Karnataka Adil Shah had the support of Several local chieftains like the poligars of Ikkeri, Basavapattana, Chikkanayakanahalli, Belur, Magadi and so no. Kanthirava had to face several hostile combinations of enemies and the well organised attacks of Adil Shah with only a few of his local feudatories. But the Raja of Mysore rose to the occasion. He not only quelled the local rebellions, but also successfully checked the successive Adil Shahi attacks on Mysore. Many of the principalities contemporaneous with Mysore in Karnataka either dwindled away in the tide of the Adil Shahi invasions or lost their independence. But, Mysore under Kanthirava, was not only able to retain its freedom from foreign invasions but also finally emerged out as an independent kingdom. In short the credit for maintaining the political freedom of Mysore and safeguarding its frontiers against attacks by Bijapur really belongs to Kanthirava.

DODDADEVARAJA WODEYAR - 1659-1673

Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar died in 1659 without any male children. He was succeeded by Doddadevaraja Wodeyar the third son of Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar.[42] Doddadevaraja was born on 25 May 1627.[43] His coronation took place on 17 August 1659.[44]

Doddadevaraja Wodeyar is an important personality in the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. His reign witnessed the beginning of the rise of Mysore as an independent kingdom in the south. During this period the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda were engaged in their struggle with Aurangazeb. The Shahi Sultans were therefore not in a position to think of any conquests in Karnataka as they had to defend their own territories from the Mughal attacks. Being freed from the hostilities of the Deccan Sultans the poligars in the south tried to throw off the foreign yoke and assert their independence. In Karnataka, apart from Mysore, Ikkeri was trying to project itself under Shivappa Nayaka I (1645-1660 A.D). Shivappa took full advantage of the absence of the Bijapur forces in his province and occupied Vasudhare (Vastare), Sakkarepattana and Hassan in order to strengthen his defences in the south of his kingdom.[45] Shivappa gave asylum to Sriranga and started extending his kingdom in the name of the fugitive king. Already by 1656 Shivappa reconquered from the Sultan of Bijapur, Ikkeri, Soraba, Udagani, Mahadevapura. Ambaligolla and other forts and drove out the Bijapuris from his province.[46] Madura was ever hostile to Mysore and Chokkanatha Nayaka its new ruler (1659-1682) was following the aggressive attitude of his predecessor Tirumala Nayaka. A few of the local poligars in Mysore like Narasimaha Nayaka of Hole Narasipur, always used to side either Ikkeri or Bijapur in order to de-stabilise Mysore.[47] These were the general conditions in Karnataka when Devaraj ascended the throne in 1659.

The entire reign period of Devaraja Wodeyar was mostly spent in wars. Tirumalarya seems to mark out three distinct stages in these campaigns.[48] The first ended with the defeat of the poligar of Ikkeri and the acquisition of Hassan and Sakkarepattana by Mysore, the second with the split of the confederacy formed by Chokkalinga Nayaka and the fall of Erode and Dharapuram and the third with the attack upon *Mummadi* Kempe Gowda and the termination of the latter's authority over Kunigal and Huliyaurdurga in 1667.

Mysore-Magadi Relations - First Phase

Shortly after his accession to the throne, Doddadevaraja sent an expedition to the territory of *Mummadi* Kempe Gowda.[49] In 1659 the Mysore army acquired Kandahal and Bellavatta[50] and in 1660 it wrested Amritur and Jinnagar in Kunigal from the same ruler.[51] Kunigal was included in the territory of Kempe Gowda. The main cause of Devaraja's expedition to Kunigal so early in his reign was the greed on the part of the Raja of Mysore for territorial acquisitions. After the conquest of Channapattana by Mysore, the principality of Magadi was another hurdle in the Mysorean advance in the north. This principality was specially created in 1639 by Ranadullah Khan and the capital of Kempe Gowda was shifted from Bangalore to this place. Ranadullah Khan made this arrangement to make Magadi a buffer state in order to protect Bangalore from any possible attacks by the Raja of Mysore[52]. The Mysorean advance in the direction of Ikkeri was blocked because in 1659 Sriranga had settled down at Belur. Mysore had therefore to think of expansion only in the direction of Bangalore in the north. Already in 1650 Kanthirava had annexed Hebbur in Kunigal taluk from *Immadi* Kempe Gowda.[53] This was the first step in the acquisition of the principality of Magadi by Mysore. Since this date, hostilities began to grow between Kempe Gowda and Shahji. For Shahji did not help Kempe Gowda in this war with Kanthirava in 1650 according to the treaty of 1638.[54] Therefore in 1659 *Mummadi* Kempe Gowda attacked Ekoji and defeated him.[55] This rift between Kempe Gowda and Ekoji was a condition ideal for Mysore to push its conquests in the territory of Magadi. The Sultan of Bijapur was not in a position to pay any attention to these developments in Karnataka because of Aurangazeb's campaigns in the Deccan. Devaraj seized this opportunity and defeated the Gowda and annexed Amritur and Jinnagara to Mysore. This is proved by some of Dodda Devaraja Wodeyar's grants which point to the latter's rule in this region subsequent to the year 1660.[56] Thus, though the literary accounts do not speak anything about the military activities of Devaraja Wodeyar in the principality of Magadi in 1659-60, these conquests noticed in the *Kudzan*, are corroborated by epigraphical evidence.

Doddadevaraja Wodeyar's Relations with Ikkeri:

Early in the reign of Devaraja Wodeyar, Shivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri contemplated an attack on Srirangapatna. There were certain important factors which contributed for Shivappa's invasion of Srirangapatna. First was that in the year 1647 Shivappa sent an embassy to the court of Kanthirava. But Kanthirava turned down this mission of goodwill on the ground that Shivappa had come to the throne by putting to death Virabhadra Nayaka (1629-1645) the leagal claimant to the throne of Ikkeri. So, Kanthirava did not recognise Shivappa as the lawful heir to the throne of Ikkeri.[57] Ever Since the rejection of this offer of friendly alliance by Kanthirava, the poligar of Ikkeri had conceived a grudge against the Raja of Mysore. Tirumalarya also writes that Shivappa's expedition towards Mysore was not a violent one but was the culmination of a long conceived plan.[58] It is in order to strengthen himself he espoused the cause of Sriranga III whom he helped to settle down at Belur. In addition to this Shivappa built a strong army by augmenting his forces by the levies of his feudal chiefs.[59] Secondly consequent on the death of Muhammad Adil Shah in 1656 there was great chaos and confusion in the Adil Shahi capital. Therefore the Sultan was not in a position to control the refractory poligars in the distant provinces of his empire. Shivappa threw off his allegiance to Bijapur and between 1657-1662 recaptured many of the places like Vasudhare, Sakkrepattana, Ikkeri, Soraba, Udagani, Mahadevapura, Ambaligolla and so on which he had formerly lost to Bijapur. Thus srengthening himself, Shivappa set forth on his expedition towards Mysore.[60]

On hearing about the march of the Bidanur forces, Devaraj sent his army under his dalvoy Hamparajaiya to oppose the Ikkeri army. But the Mysore army was defeated in a fierce battle at Shantigarama near Hassan. Hamparajaiya was captured in the battle along with sixteen other military officers. Besides, several horses and elephants belonging to the Mysore army were captured by Shivappa.[61]

Shivappa next marched towards Srirangapatna. In this campaign the chief of Hole Narasipur joined Shivappa Nayaka along with some other local poligars who were hostile to Mysore and rendered much intelligence work to the poligar of Ikkeri.[62] At Srirangapatana Shivappa bridged the Kaveri and laid siege to the fort fully resolved to take the same.[63] It was a very critical moment to Doddadevaraja. Would he be able to preserve the integrity of his kingdom which his predecessors had established with so much of efforts? or would he submit and surrender the sovereignty of his kingdom? It was thus an occasion of great trial for the Raja of Mysore. His ability was put to a great test. But the Mysore army offered stout resistance and drove back the besiegers. Inspite of determined efforts Shivappa was unable to reduce the fort and was obliged to beat a hasty retreat.[64] The Mysore army chased the retreating troops and subjected them to great losses. Shivappa did not survive long this disaster. For, he died in the middle of 1660 shortly after his defeat and was succeeded by his younger brother Venkatappa.

The Mysore army followed this success and entered the territory of Arkalagud. But Venkatappa Nayaka (1660-61) successor of Shivappa Nayak sent fresh troops and defeated the Mysore army in two battles at Hebbale and Kanagala in Arkalagud Taluk.[65] This success neutralised the defeat of the Ikkeri army at Srirangapatna and also checked the further advance of the Mysore army in the direction of Ikkeri. Shivappa's defeat at Srirangapatna in 1659 convinced Bhadrappa the new chief of Keladi (1661-1663) of the futility of attacking Srirangapatna straight away. Therefore after his success at Hebbale and Kanagala Bhadrappa shifted the scene of his activities to the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat. Sriranga had already settled down at Belur. Bhadrappa possibly thought that if the north western part of Mysore adjacent to Belur - that is, Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat, were also taken, Doddadevaraja's strength in this region would be sufficiently reduced. Therefore early in 1663 Bhadrappa sent his army to karnataka Bijapur Balaghat and acquired many places in this region like Honnavalli, kandugere (Kandikere), Budival (Budihal) and so on round about Chikkanayakanahalli which belonged to the Sultan of Bijapur.

Encouraged by his successes and emboldened by the presence of Sriranga at Belur the Nayak of Ikkeri continued his aggressions late in the same year in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat and occupied some more strong bastions of Adil Shah in this region like Chikkanayakanahalli and Sampige. But Devaraj never wanted to allow these foreign settlements so near his kingdom. He soon sent his army to the north-western border of his kingdom to oppose the Ikkeri army. Both the sides had certain common advantages here. The north-western part of Mysore which was also called the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat was at that time under the control of Adil Shah. Ranadullah khan, the Adil Shahi governor at Chikkanayakanahalli, died in 1643.[66] Ekoji, whom Shahji had left at Bangalore to look after the Bijapur interests in this region was a weak ruler. Adil Shah was engaged in his struggles with Aurangazeb. Therefore, the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat area would be an easy prey for enterprising adventurers at that time. Now both Ikkeri and Mysore Concentrated their attention on this region. It was a great trial of strength for these two parties. The Mysore army soon entered this area and early in 1663 acquired Chelur and Bidare which belonged to the Sultan of Bijapur[67] and then wrested Honnavalli from the poligar of Ikkeri.[68] Devaraj followed this success and shortly inflicted a crushing defeat on the poligar of Ikkeri and wrested from him the important strongholds of Chikkanayakanahalli and Sampige which he had annexed from the Sultan of Bijapur.

Devaraj was encouraged by his success to take the bold step to threaten the position of Sriranga at Belur and to drive him out of Karnataka. Accordingly, after strengthening his position round about Chikkanayakanahalli, he marched against Sriranga. In December 1663 he wrested from the latter the two impregnable and celebrated forts of Hassan and

Sakkarepattana.[69] This was one of the greatest accomplishments of Devaraja's reign. For, the chief of a petty principality could be able to defeat the erstwhile sovereign of a big empire. If Raja Wodeyar could expell Tirumala the viceroy of Vijayanagar from Srirangapatna in 1610 Devaraj was able to drive out Sriranga III the king (of Vijayanagar) himself and wrest from him his strongest bastions in Karnataka. Indeed this might have been a moment of great rejoice and glory in the career of Devaraja Wodeyar. This success of Devaraj elevated the position of Mysore among the local chiefs and correspondingly decreased the power of Ikkeri in Karnataka.[70]

Following this success, the Mysore army led by dalvoy Nanjanathaiya rushed into *Malanad*, capturing several forts on its way like Kalasa, Kandeya, Danivasa, Hebbe, Jagara, Bidarur (Bidanur) and so on and finally laid siege to Ikkeri the capital of Somasekhara Nayaka. Somasekhara, the poligar of Ikkeri, was unable to withstand this attack and sued for peace and terminated the hostilities by agreeing to pay annual tribute to Mysore.[71]

This victory of Mysore over Ikkeri is another important event in the political career of Devaraj. For, in this war Mysore army went for the first time up to the gates of Ikkeri where it dictated terms to the enemy. Secondly Devaraj acquired in the north-western border of his kingdom some important military centres of Adil Shah like Chikkanayakanahalli and built up his military strength to a great extent. Thirdly when Ikkeri lost many of its possessions in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat area including some forts in *Malanad* like Hassan and Sakkarepattana, Sriranga's position at Belur became very weak. He could no longer think of 'imperial unity' with the aid of a dwindling power like Ikkeri. Wilks writes that the Mysoreans "appear to have received from the royal pageant forced grants of conquered districts during this and the four subsequent years after which we hear no more of Sree Ranga Rayeel of the house of Vijayanagar".[72] The acquisition of Hassan and Sakkarepattana by Mysore in 1663 marks the end of the "once glorious dynasty of Vijayanagar".[73]

When all his hopes of imperial restoration were thus shattered, Sriranga seems to have finally left Belur in 1663 and sought shelter in the court of Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura.[74] We have a few inscriptions of Chokkanatha ranging in date from 1665 to 1667 which point to the presence of Sriranga in the court at Madura.[75] The absence of Sriranga in Karnataka was the signal for the king of Mysore to proclaim his independence. Hereafter Doddadevaraja Wodeyar gave up even the usual courtesy of formally mentioning the king of Vijayanagar (his nominal overlord) in all his inscriptions. Devaraj appears in his earliest inscriptions as a mere *Maha-manadalesvara* (provincial governor) under the king of Vijayanagar.[76] But, after the flight of Sriranga from Hassan in 1663 Devaraj adopted some high royal titles like *Rajadhiraja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa, Birudantembara Ganda, Dharani Varaha, Nanamakuta Mandalikara Ganda, Muru Manneya Ganda,* (Champion over three Chiefs) *Pararaya Bhayankara,* (Terror to the hostile kings) *Hindu raya Suratrana* (Sultan of Hindu kings) and so forth which were formerly the distinctive epithets of the soverigns of Vijayanagar.[77] Thus, it seems apparent that by 1663 Devaraj Wodeyar of Mysore rose to the position of a ruler of an independent kingdom.

During this period, consequent on the fall of Vijayanagar, several scholars and artists who formerly adorned the court of the emperor of Vijayanagar fled to Mysore for royal patronage.

Venkata Varadacharya of Yedur (son of Lashmi Kumara Tatacharya son of *Immadi* Tirumala Tatacharya of *Sri Saila Vamsa* and *Satamarshana Gotra)* was one of the royal preceptors who came to Mysore during this period. He was a great exponent of Shri-Vaishnava Philosophy and laid the foundation of Shṛi-Vaishnavism in Mysore.

With the flight of Sriranga on the fall of Hassan and Sakkarepattana, Belur automatically fell to Mysore. Belur was one of the strong centres of Adil Shah along with Chikkanayakanahalli. The acquisition of these places increased the military potential of Mysore and made it more powerful among the poligars of Karnataka.

Domestic Affairs

Mysore Hole Narasipur Relations:

On the fall of Chikkanayakanahalli in 1663, Devaraj defeated one Annajaiya in 1666 and wrested from him Sartavalli which belonged to Chikkanayakanahalli in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat.[78] Having strengthened his position round about Chikkanayakanahalli, Doddadevaraja turned towards the poligar of Hole Narasipur. This chief was formerly defeated twice by the Rajas of Mysore. In 1631 Chamaraja put him to rout and again Kanthirava Narasaraj reduced him to submission in 1644. But still, this chief was refractory and hostile to Mysore. He used to side the Nayak of Ikkeri and assisted Shivappa Nayaka in his war with Mysore in 1659. Devaraj now wanted to punish this rebel. After the acquisition of Sartavalli Devaraja sent his army to Hole Narasipur[79] and defeated Narasimha Nayaka, the chief of this principality and annexed Hole Narasipur to the kingdom of Mysore.[80] This is proved by an epigraphical record of Devaraj Wodeyar belonging to the year 1666. It is apparent from this epigraph, that the defeat of Narasimha Nayaka by Doddadevaraja Wodeyar in 1666 meant the extermination of the Nayak regime at Hole Narasipur. Thereafter it was included in the kingdom of Mysore. Tirumalarya writes that Narasimha Nayaka was captured in the battle.[81] These conquestes in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat and Hole Narasipur areas considerably enlarged the territorial limits of Mysore. Mysore now extended in the north-west upto Belur and Chikkanayakanahalli. Besides extending the kingdom of Mysore, these territorial acquisitions brought great wealth to Mysore and increased its economic resources also. Mysore now grew more powerful not only politically but also in the economic and military sectors.

Foreign Policy:

(a) Mysore Madura Relations:

Another important event of the reign of Devaraj was the defeat of Chokkanatha and his allies in 1667 and the annexation of Erode and Dharapuram to the kingdom of Mysore. The real cause of the conflict between Mysore and Madura in 1667 was the projected expansion of Mysore in the south.[82] On the fall of Hassan and Sakkarepattana in 1663, Sriranga left Belur and went to Madura. Here he seems to have sought the assistance of Chokkanatha Nayaka, the chief of Madura and made another effort to regain his authority and to Neutralise the power of Mysore. Chokkanatha also could not tolerate the expansionist activities of Mysore in the principality of Madura during Kanthirava Narasaraja's rule. Chokkanatha now wanted to make the best use of the fugitive Sriranga III in his court. The presence of Sriranga in his court gave to Chokkanatha much moral and material support to oppose Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. He now joined Sriranga with whose help he mediated the conquest of entire Mysore.[83] In this scheme of conquest Chokkanatha enlisted the support of the Maratha chiefs in the Carnatic namely Vedoji and Anantoji, the Bijapur representatives at Jinji and Tanjore respectively. A union of chiefs hostile to Mysore was thus brought about. *Damarla* Aiyappa Nayaka a local *jagirdar* also joined this confederacy.[84] The confederate forces took up the cause of Sriranga. That is, restoring him back to his power. The main obstacle in Sriranga's attempt to recover his power was Mysore. The fall of Vijayanagar was a gain to Mysore. Mysore started becoming stronger and stronger correspondingly as the kingdom of Sriranga declined. The rising power of Mysore was therefore an eye sore to Sriranga. The kingdom of Sriranga was crumbling before his own eyes. He wanted somehow to regain his lost power and restore the former glory of the empire of Vijayanagar.

The confederate powers now championed this cause. The confederate army consisting of one lakh of infantry, one hundred elephants and many horses marched forth and laid siege to the fort of Erode in the south east of Mysore. The allied army was led by *Tupakada* Lingama Nayaka, the commander of the army of Chokkanatha. on hearing about the formation of the confederacy and the march of the confederate army towards Erode, Doddadevaraja sent his army under the command of his nephew Chikkadevaraja.

The march of the Mysore army created a sense of panic in the mind of Chokkanatha. For, there was no unity among the members of the confederacy. Though the members of the confederacy espoused the cause of Sriranga, they joined the confederacy only to check the power of Devaraja Wodeyar and to wreck their vengeance against him. None of these members was really interested in the cause of Sriranga. Secondly the Maratha *sardars* at Tanjore and Jinji joined Chokkanatha purely on their own accord and their action did not have the approval of the policy makers at Poona. It is only their ill will against the Raja of Mysore that dictated them to respond favourably to Chokkanatha when the latter appealed to them to join the confederacy. Therefore the confederacy had not got the recognition of either the Maratha ruler or the Sultan of Bijapur. The confederacy was thus a loosely kint organisation. It had no well defined programmes and policies. Besides, the confederate army was only large in number. it was not a well disciplined army but consisted of mere rabbles. These factors convinced Chokkanatha that the confederate forces could not face the Mysore army which had the distinction of having won several battles during the reign of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar and also during the reign of Devaraja Wodeyar himself.

Chokkanatha was un-nerved at these. He became apprehensive of the impending danger and secretly retired to Trichinopoly leaving his allies to their fate.[85] Sriranga also followed him soon. The flight of Chokkanatha and Sriranga created much confusion among the confederate powers. The confederacy was thus hopelessly divided. In the meanwhile the Mysore army arrived for the relief of Erode. In a sanguinary fight Aiyappa Nayaka was slain and Anantoji was put to flight. The confederate army was completely defeated.[86] The Mysore army made the permanent conquest of Erode, dharapuram and Vamalur and marched as far as Trichinopoly where it compelled Chokkanatha to submit to Mysore.[87]

The defeat of the confederate forces at Erode was a great accomplishment of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. Because this war completely foiled the attempts of Sriranga to reduce Mysore. This was the last trial of Strength between Doddadevaraja Wodeyar and Sriranga. Sriranga lost the ground. The defeat of the allied forces at Madura proved the strength of Mysore which now emerged out as a strong power in Karnataka.

(b) Mysore Magadi Relations - Second Phase:

After defeating the allied army at Erode Doddadevaraja again started wars of expansion in the territory of Magadi. Devaraj wanted to attack Magadi for two reasons. First, the Raja of Mysore wanted to take from Kempe Gowda, Kunigal which belonged to Magadi. Devaraj had occupied most of Adil-Shah's bastions like Chikkanayakanahalli, Turuvekere and Belur. Now only Kunigal remained in the hands of Bijapur. Kunigal was included in the principality of Magadi at that time. Devaraj was anxious to occupy this settlement so that the movement of the Bijapur army into Mysore region from the north and western directions of Mysore could be checked. Secondly, Mysore had already occupied some important settlements of Kempe Gowda in this region namely Hebbur, Amritur and so on and had made some advance in the direction of Bangalore. Now the reduction of Kunigal would take Mysore still colser towards Bangalore. With this end in view, Devaraj sent his army to the territory of Magadi in 1667. The Mysore army defeated Kempe Gowda at Huliyurdurga and Kunigal in November and December 1667 respectively and permanently annexed these places to the kingdom of Mysore.[88]

These successes of Doddadevaraja in the principality of Kempe Gowda were of much significance for Mysore. The loss of Kunigal and other places very much weakened the position of Kempe Gowda at Magadi. Secondly, these acquisitions took Mysore closer to Bangalore and prepared a good ground for the eventual attack of Bangalore by Mysore at a later date.

For some time after his acquisition of Kunigal and Huliyurdurga Doddadevaraja suspended his military campaigns. for, we hear of no wars in Mysore during this period. The last years of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar's reign were comparatively quiet. Devaraj might have spent these years in the consolidation of his conquests and in making certain territorial readjustments as one of his inscriptions seems to suggest.[89]

We have a few inscriptions belonging to the last years of Devaraj Wodeyar's reign. These inscriptions are issued by Kanthirava Narasaraj the nephew of Devaraj Wodeyar. They come from Gundlupet, Heggadadevanakote and Hunsur taluks.[90] These epigraphs seem to priest that Kanthirava wielded much influence in this region and it is likely that Doddadevaraja appointed him as governor of this area which is called *Hoysalanad* in the inscriptions.

To sum up it may be said, that the period of Devaraj Wodeyar forms an important landmark in the political evolution of the kingdom of Mysore. For it is during this reign that the boundaries of Mysore considerably expanded in different directions. The most important accomplishment of this ruler was the expulsion of Sriranga III from Belur. This success of Mysore over Sriranga blasted the latter's hopes of reviving his lost power and extended the boundaries of Mysore upto Hassan and Sakkrepatna in the north- west. if Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar defended Mysore from external aggressions Devaraja Wodeyar considerably enlarged its territorial limits by his restless campaigns against the adversaries. Devaraj was the first ruler of the Wodeyar dynasty who successfully led the Mysore army upto the gates of Ikkeri where he compelled Somasekhara Nayaka, the poligar of Ikkeri, to lay down his arms and to pay annual tribute to Mysore. The defeat of Sriranga in the battle at erode in 1667 removed one of the greatest rivals of Mysore for hegemony over Karnataka. As a result Devaraj ruled as an independent king of Karnataka assuming some high titles as is suggested by some of his epigraphs.[91] In short, because of his various accomplishments in military and cultural spheres, Doddadevaraja is regarded as an illustrious ruler of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. In the course of a sojourn through the country for civil purposes Devaraj was taken ill and died at Chikkanayakanahalli on 11 February 1673.[92]

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28. Foster, *English Factories in India,* 1655-60, pp. 93, 95, 97, 98.

29. Tirumalarya, *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali,* p. 191; *Keladi Nripa Vijayam,* VII, 114.

30. *EC.,* IX (old Edition), Ht. 79; V (old Edication), Bl. 80, 81, 82; Ag. 83; Hn. 39-40, MJ. 21; VI (old Edition), Cm. 153; XII (old Edition), Kg. 46 and so on.

31. *Sources of Vijayanagar History,* p. 347.

32. Linganna, *Keladi Nripa Vijayam,* VII, V. 37

33. *Further Sources,* Vol. I, p. 369; *Ke. N.V.,* VII, 109.

34. Tirumalarya, *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali,* op. cit.

35. *Sources,* op. cit.
36. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.,* p. 49.
37. *Virabhadra Vijaya Champu* (1720) MS. No. A. 610 Mys. Or. Lib.
38. See Supra pp. 67-68.
39. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.* , op. cit.
40. *Virabhadra Vijaya Champu,* op. cit.
41. *Mys. Do. Pur.* , 1, p. 50; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 25; *Mys. Do. Vam. (Genealogical Manuscript).*
42. *EC.,* XII (old Edition), Kg. 37; *EC.,* IV (old Edition), Yd. 54; *EC.* IV, Ch. 11; VI, Sr. 24, pp. 99, 215 and so on.
43. *Mys. Do Bur.,* 1.53; ii 55; *Mys. Do. Vam.* (Genealogical Manuscript)
44. *Annals,* 1, p. 95; *Mys. Do Vam.* (Genealogical manuscript)
45. *Ke. N.V.* , VII, pp. 108-109.
46. *Ibid.,* VII, p. 110
47. *Annals,* 1, p. 98.
48. *C. Vi.,* V, pp. 102-116.
49. *Kudzan,* p. 207.
50. Kandanal and Bellavatta are two extinct villages in Kunigal taluk, Tumkur district.
51. *Kudzan,* op. cit. Amritur and jinnagara are two extant Villages in Kunigal taluk.
52 Supra, pp. 69.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. Supra, pp. 69-70.
56. *EC.,* VII (old Edition), Kg. 37 (1663 A.D) Kg. 33 (1663 A.D), Kg. 40, 1663 A.D, Kg. 46 (1664 A.D) and so on.
57. *C. Vam.,* p. 190.
58. *C. Vi.,* p. 108, V. 18.
59 *C. Vam.,* p. 191; *Ke. N.V.,* VII, p. 114, V. 37.
60. *Ke. N.V.,* VII, p. 119, V. 43.
61. *Ke. N. V.,* VII, *Vs.* 38-39-43. The sources on the Mysore side are completely silent about this reverse of Devaraj.
62. *Annals,* 1, p. 98; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 25.
63. *Ke. N.V.,* VII, p. 115, V. 45.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ke. N.V.,* VIII, V. 2, p. 119; V. 4; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 26.
66. P.Shervani and Joshi (Ed.), *Hist. of Medi* Dec. I, p. 362, f.n. 256.

67. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, pp. 24-25; *Kudzan*, p. 207. According to the Mysore Palace Records *(Annals*, 1, p. 97) these Places were acquired from the poligar of Tumkur who was possibly a representative of the Bijapur governor at Chikkanayakanahalli.

68. *Annals*, 1, op. cit. The *Mysore Palace Records* identify this place with Honnali in Shimoga district which belonged to Ikkeri. But there was no scope for the Mysore army to go so deep into the territory of Ikkeri at that time. The place actually taken by Devaraj was Honnavalli in Tumkur district which is probably wrongly spelt as Honnali in the *Palace Records.*

69. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 26; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 26; *EC.*, VI sr. 24 (1686); *C. Vi.*, p. 105; V, 25; *Anc. Ind.*, p. 297. *Dynasty of Kalale* (M.A.R., 1942), p. 89.

70. S.K.Aiyangar assigns this event to the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar *(Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 309, H.N.M., p. 119). This seems to be wrong. For, according to Linganna Kavi, these events are ascribable to the reigns of Bhadrappa Nayaka (1661-1663) and his brother Hiriya Somasekhara Nayaka (1663-1671) who were the contemporaries of Devaraja Wodeyar at Ikkeri. S.K.Aiyangar seems to follow mainly the inscriptions of Doddadevaraja and his successor Chikkadevaraja. These inscriptions, which are in the nature of *prasastis*, give us a mixed account of the achievements of these rulers in a poetic fashion unlike the chronicles which narrate the events in their chronological sequence.

71. *C. Vi.*, V, pp. 105-106, *Vs.* 26, 27, 28. This point is corroborated by epigraphical evidence also. EC., VII (old edition), Kg. 46.

72. *Hist.*, 1, p. 69.

73. S.K.Aiyangar, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 297.

74. *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii, 2352-2353, 2366-2367.

75. Sewell, *List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, p. 562 No. 394.

76. *EC.*, III, Nj. 335 and 328.

77. *EC.*, VI, Sr. 23; V, Tn. 218 and so on.

78. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, 27; *Annals*, 1, p. 97; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p.26.

79. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, pp. 27-28; *Annals*, 1, p. 98; *Kudzan*, p. 209; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 25. *The Mysore Palace Records (Annals*, op. cit.) make Lakshmappa Nayaka the ruler of Hole Narasipur at that time. But, according to the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* Narasimha Nayaka was the contemporary of Devaraj at Hole Narasipur. This view appears to be correct. Because, we have an inscription of Narasimha Nayaka *(EC.*, XV, old edition, AG. 106) which belongs to 1665. This grant appears to be the last of the chiefs of Hole Narasipur. There after we have the inscriptions of the Mysore kings in this area. The earliest of Devaraja's grants coming from this region is Kn.87 (*EC.*, V) belonging to 1666 issued a month after the conquest of Hole Narasipur by Doddadevaraja Woḍeyar. Also see *EC.*, IV (old edition Yd. 54.)

80. *Ibid.*

81. *C.Vi.,* V, p. 116, V. 94.

82. *C.Vi.,* V, p. 106; V. 33; *EC.,* V, Tn. 218; IV, Ko. 52; H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* 1, p. 262.

83. Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 69.

84. *C. Vi* ., V, p. 107, V. 35.

85. *Ibid.,* V, pp. 113, 114, *Vs.* 81-82.

86. *Ibid.,* 81-82 and 89. *Ibid.,* pp. 115-116, *Vs.* 95-96; EC., VI, Sr. 24, ii, l. 36-39; *Anc. Ind.,* p. 297; Wilks, *Hist.,* 1. pp. 69-70, H.N.M., p. 26 and 172; *Mys. Do. Pur.,* ii, p. 28; *Annals,* 1, p. 97; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 26.

87. *Annals,* 1, op. cit. ; *C. Vi.,* V, p. 116, *Vs.* 95-96; *Mys. Raj. cha.,* op. cit

88. *C. Vi.,* Vi, pp. 115, 116, *Vs.* 93, 94, 95-96; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 26; *Annals,* 1, p. 97; *Mys. Do. Pur.,* ii, p. 29; *Kudzan,* p. 207. Tirumala Aiyangar (*C. Vi.,* V, p. 116) writes that Devaraj captured Kempe Gowda in this campaign. But this statement is not corroborated by any other evidence. Even if we assume that the Mysore army captured Kempe Gowda, he might have been subsequently released from his captivity. For Kempe Gowda was still ruling in his principality during the succeeding years., This fact seems to be supported by some of *Mummadi Kempe Gowda's inscriptions* which point to his rule in Magadi as late as 1674. These are *EC.,* IX (old edition), Ma. 5 and 29 both of which belong to the year 1674 A.D.

89. *EC.,* XII (old edition), Tp. 72.

90. *EC.,* IV; Hs 32; III, hg. 16, 13, 126, M.A.R., 1940, p. 175, No. 47, *Ibid.,* 1941, pp. 74, 75, No. 24. p. 178, No. 27; and so on. On the basis of these records H.V.Rao suggests a joint rule of Devaraja Wodeyar and Kanthirava Narasaraj. But this inference is not corroborated by any other evidence. it is also suggested that Kanthirava might have taken an active part in Devaraj Wodeyar's campaigns in Erode in 1667, and for this service, Devaraj might have appointed Kanthirava as the governor of Hoysalanad which comprised of the southern parts of Mysore *(EC.,* IV, Intr. C. XXXVIII). This inference appears to be supported by one of these records of Kanthirava which refers to this province as having been conquered by him (Kanthirava) by his own valour *(EC.,* IV Hs. 32, i. 12 - *Tavu tamage Vikramarjitavagi banda Kaveri Kapini Mandhya-vartiyada Hosananadina* ....). This statement probably seems to refer to Dodda Devaraj's war with Chokkanatha of Madura. For, we do not hear of any other war which Doddadevaraja waged in this area during his reign.

91. *EC.,* V, Tn. 218.

92. *Mys. Do. Pur.,* 1, 57; ii, 23; *Annals,* 1, p. 103; *Mys. Raj. Cha.,* p. 27; *Kudzan,* p. 207; *Mys. Do. Vam.* (Genealogical Manuscript); Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 70.

CHAPTER IV

ZENITH AND GLORY

The dynasty reached the peak of its glory during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. This reign is indeed a fascinating one full of action and diplomacy. This was an important ear when two powerful personalities of national character like Aurangazeb and Shivaji entered on South Indian scene and played a very significant role. Chikkadevaraja stood face to face with Shivaji and repulsed all the Marathas attacks on Mysore and freed the kingdom from foreign danger. While he fought with the Marathas, Chikkadevaraja befriended the Mughals and rendered military assistance to Aurangazeb during his campaigns in the South and maintained unimpaired diplomatic relations with the Mughal Empire. Chikkadevaraja's friendly relationship with the imperial court at Delhi enhanced the prestige of Mysore locally and made it stronger than before. Chikkadevaraja not only built a compact kingdom but also laid the foundation for a strong central government which stood for peace and order. This government was also a civilised one known for equality and justice. During the thirty one years of his reign, despite the wars he fought the kingdom enjoyed the blessings of a settled government and had reached the peak of glory and material prosperity. His court was known for its dazzling splendour and magnificance. Himself an accomplished person, he gave much encouragement to art and culture. The reign was marked by a great renaissance in Kannada literature. We see two towering personalities in the realm of literature making significant contributions and thereby adding lustre to the literary movement of the period. One was Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar himself and the other was his councillor Tirumalarya. "If one was an emperor *(Samrat)* the other was an emperor of poets *(Kavi Samrat)".* Chikkadevaraja was a born soldier, a great scholar and an exceptionally capable administrator and is remembered by posterity as the "most meritorious ruler of the dynasty like queen Elezabeth of England, Louis XIV of France, Augustus of Rome, Akbar of Delhi and Krishnadeva of Vijayanagara".[1]

On the death of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar in 1673 his nephew Chikkadevaraja ascended the throne. Chikkadevaraja was the son of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar the eldest son of Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar.[2] He was born on 22 September, 1645.[3] His coronation took place on 28 February 1673.[4]

Chikkadevaraja ascended the throne of Mysore at a crucial period of its history. The Marathas were making serious attempts to establish their hegemony over this region. At Bijapur Ali Adil Shah II died in 1672 leaving a shattered heritage to his son Sikandar. As a result of the infancy of the king, the central administration became very weak. A civil was broke out in the Adil Shahi capital. The defeat of the confederate forces at Erode by Devaraja Wodeyar in 1667 had dealt a strong blow to Vijayanagar and removed Sriranga from the South Indian political scene. The Nayak rule had come to a close at Tanjore where Ekoji had established his own rule. Madura was too weak to maintain itself and was struggling to preserve its integrity against the odds of the time. At Ikkeri the central administration was greatly weakened by chronic court intrigues. These intrigues resulted in the death of Somashekara Nayaka and the succession of the dowager queen Channammaji. These were the general conditions when Chikkadevaraja came to the throne.

Early in his reign Chikkadevaraja was engaged in a bloody encounter with the Nayak of Madura and the poligar of Ikkeri. During the whole of this reign there was a great contest for supremacy over Karnataka between Madura and Mysore and Mysore and Ikkeri. Mallikarjuna, the court poet of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, tells us that Chokkanatha developed an attitude of hostility towards Mysore and was making preparations for war. Madura and Ikkeri were very anxious to maintain the balance of power in Karnataka and they never liked Mysore becoming more powerful. Chokkanatha, the ruler of Madura, had not forgotten the humiliation suffered by him in the battle field at Erode in 1667 during the reign of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. Since then he was waiting for an opportunity to avenge this injury. Now taking advantage of the death of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, Chokkanatha reorganised his army and planned an invasion of Mysore. According to Tirumalarya Madura and Ikkeri together made an attempt to pull down Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar of Mysore.[5] While Madura raised a rebellion in the South, Ikkeri invaded Mysore from the north. Chokkanatha sent his army under his commander Venkata Krishna Nayaka who bore the title *Sangara Kirita* (Crown of battle). As a crown prince, Chikkadevaraja had already broken the mighty confederacy formed by Chokkanatha and Sriranga III of Vijayanagar and had humbled them at Erode in 1667. Again he had to face the Madura army early in his reign. The Mysoreans fell on the Madura army at Madhuvana and subjected the Nayak to greater humiliation. In a fierce battle that was fought at this place Chikkadev routed the Madura army and put the Nayak to heavy losses - both men and ammunitions. The Mysoreans captured on the battle field all belongings of the Madura army including their war horses and elephants and wrested from Chokkanatha several important forts in Madura like Paramatripura, Malali, Muttanjatti, Shalya (Salem), Sadamangalam, Anantagiri, Torenad, Ariyalur, Dharapuram and so on and returned to Mysore with much booty.[6]

The period witnessed a rivalry for power over Karnataka. The chief contestants in this power politics during this period were the poligar of Ikkeri, the Nayak of Madura and the Marathas. Very often these powers would unite together to reduce the power of Mysore. The smaller poligars in Mysore region would always join the power sectors in order to save their independence against encroachments by Mysore. Channammaji the queen of Ikkeri was making elaborate preparations for war with Mysore. In this attempt she enlisted the support of the king of Vijayanagar. During the reign of Devaraja Wodeyar Mysore had put down Sriranga III and was growing more and more powerful. but Channammaji never wanted Mysore to become a strong power in Karnataka. She was envious of the growth of Mysore. Chokkanatha of Madura also joined the confederacy for the same reason. His defeat at Madhuvana in 1673 at the hands of Chikkdevaraja Wodeyar and the consequent loss of territory were great insults o him. According to *Maddagiri Charitre*, Chjikkappa Gowda the poligar of Maddagiri was also a member of this confederacy.[7] These powers advanced in the name of the king of Vijayanagar.

Vijayanagar. The name of the ruler of Vijayanagar whose cause was now espoused was Kodandarama, the cousin of Sriranga III and the last of the Vijayanagara rulers so far known to history. The confederate forces, led by Ikkeri, marched on Mysore. On hearing about the formation of this confederacy and its advance towards Mysore, Chikkadevaraja sent his army under his *dalvoy* Kumaraiya who defeated the allies and acquired Arkalagud, Sakkarepattana and Belur which belonged to Ikkeri. The Confederate army was obliged to retreat.[8] The retreating army was chased by the Mysore soldiers. But the allied army defeated Kumaraiya in a battle at Hassan and wrested from him vastare along with its dependencies held by Mysore.[9]

Shortly after his defeat at Hassan, Chikkadevaraja shifted his activities to Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat which belonged to Bijapur. There were certain conditions favourable to Chikkadeva to start raids in this region at the beginning of his reign. First, Ekoji had shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore in 1673. Ekoji's absence at Bangalore provided a good opportunity to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to strike at the possessions of Bijapur in Karnataka. Secondly Adil shah was not in a position to interfere in the politics of Karnataka because of the civil war that was going on between the Afghan party and the Decany party in Bijapur. Consequently, his control over his territories in Karnataka declined. Thirdly Ekoji was also engaged in a war with the Nayak of Madura and was not in a position to take notice of the developments in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat. As a result there was a "Political vacuum" in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat.[10] These disturbed political conditions in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat attracted the attention of the local powers to try their chance to acquire mastery over this region. Apart from Ekoji both Mysore and Ikkeri were contesting for supremacy over this region.

So, undaunted by his defeated at Hassan, the Raja of Mysore soon turned his attention towards Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat and acquired the prestigious fort of Chikkanayakanahalli expelling the Bijapur governor from this place. The fall of Chikknayakanahalli was followed by the reduction of Turuvekere. The Mysore army next expelled one Jahangir Khan and obtained from him Honnavalli, Kandikere, Handalagere (Handanakere) and Saratavalli.[11] Moving further south, the Mysore army defeated Balbal Khan another military representative of Adil Shah in this region and obtained Chelur from him.[12] Strengthening his position round about Chikkanayakanahalli, Chikkadevaraja marched further southwards and acquired Keta samudra, Gulur and Tumkur.[13]

The expansionist design of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and his acquisitions in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat caused a great concern to the local *Morasu* chiefs like Kempe Gowda of Magadi, the poligars of Kolar, Doddaballapur, Maddagiri and so on. All these poligars united under the leadership of Narasappa Wodeyar the chief of Jadakanadurga in order to arrest Chikkadevaraja's further advance. But, Chikkadevaraja defeated the allied army in an encounter at Jadakanadurga and annexed this important hill fort to Mysore in January, 1675 and renamed the place as Chikkadevarayanadurga after himself.[14] In February 1675 he reduced to submission Chikkappa Gowda, the chief of Maddagiri, who had come to the assistance of Narasappa

Wodeyar of Jadakanadurga and acquired from him Doddadevagaganagiri another hill fort in the Maddagiri kingdom which was apparently renamed after Chikkadevaraja's father.[15]

Thus, by 1676 Chikkadevaraja wrested many places which belonged to the Sultan of Bijapur in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat and Strengthened his position to a great extent in this region. These successes of Mysore in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat counter balanced its defeat at Hassan to a great extent. Therefore, though the *Ramarajiyamu* claims a victory to Kodanadarama at Hassan in 1674, this was not a decisive victory; for Mysore soon recovered its position and strengthened its defences round about Kanrataka Bijapur Balaghat and drove back the poligar of Ikkeri from this region. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was already shattered to pieces and the victory at Hassan could not make any impact on the fortunes of this kingdom. We here nothing of Kodanadrama after this event and his disappearance practically meant the final disappearance of the kingdom of Vijayanagar itself. Thereafter Vijayanagar ceased to be a power even in its name in South Indian Political scene. The dismemberment of Vijayanagar was infact a great gain to Mysore. Chikkadevaraja had already defeated the ruler of Madura in 1673 and had also driven the Bijapuris out of many of their possessions in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat. Ekoji had shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. His absence in Mysore made Chikkadevaraja more powerful in this region. The *Chamarajanagar copper plates* tell us that after these victories Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar started ruling like an independent king seated on the throne of Karnataka.[16]

Shivaji's invasion of Mysore:

When Chikkadevaraja was thus busy in extending the territorial limits of his kingdom, there occurred in South India, an event of great importance which made a deep impact on the fortunes of the kingdom of Mysore. That is, Shivaji's jinji campaign. Shivaji undertook an expedition to Carnatic in 1677. On his return from Jinji he invaded Mysore. Mysore, which had hither to fought so many battles with the local powers had now to face a big foe, a mighty conqueror of national character. The very security and integraity of the kingdom of Mysore was put to a serious threat by this invasion. Karnataka which had hither to resisted several Maratha *Sardars* like Shahji, Vedoji and so on who came to Mysore in the wake of the Bijapur campaigns in this region had now to face the sovereign of the Maratha empire. The occasion brought Shivaji and Chikkadevaraja of Mysore face to face on the field of battle - one to recover the lost territories and the other to retain the acquisitions. A bloody battle was fought in August 1677 at Srirangapatna in which Chikkadevaraja completely defeated Shivaji and saved Mysore. This subject forms a fascinating study in Mysore history.

What were the causes of Shivaji's Mysore Expedition?

There were two important causes leading to Shivaji's Mysore expedition. First was the declining Maratha influence in Mysore and in the Carnatic owing to the incompetent rule of Ekoji. Secondly Shivaji's greed for wealth. Under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar Mysore was growing as a powerful kingdom in the whole of Karnataka. The defeat of the confederate forces in

Mysore in 1674-75 dashed to ground Kodandarama's efforts to retrieve the fortunes of Vijayanagar and delivered the final below to the empire. The fall of Vijayanagar made Mysore even more powerful and enabled it to enter the Maratha zone of influence in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat.

In 1673 Ekoji had shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. This was an unsound policy. For Bangalore was the centre from where Ekoji could control the Maratha interests both in the Baramahals as well as in Mysore region. Ekoji's absence in Bangalore made the refractory poligars in this region to throw off their allegiance to Bijapur and assert their independence. Doddaballapur became independent in 1677. Kolar had already declared its independence in 1670.[17] Ekoji's absence at Bangalore gave full scope to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to extend his conquests in the areas where the Maratha influence dominated. In 1674-75 Chikkadevaraja annexed several important places in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat like Chikkanayakanahalli, Turuvekere, Tumkur and so on and drove out many of the Adil Shahi military representatives stationed in charge of these settlements. In January 1677 he defeated Hussain Khan and acquired Bommasamudra in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat.[18] These conquests sufficiently enhanced the prestige of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. consequently the Maratha power was on the decline in Mysore region. In Tanjore also Ekoji did not follow a wise policy. Shortly after shifting his capital to this place, Ekoji started conducting aggressions in the kingdom of Madura. He wanted to acquire Trichinopoly which belonged to Madura. This expansionist design brought him into conflict with Madura. These differences among the different powers in the Carnatic, strengthened the position of Chikkadevaraja who was already aspiring for territory in the northern part of Madura. Shivaji's main idea in undertaking his expedition in 1677 was to set right this political imbalance and to retrieve the Maratha losses in Mysore region.

Secondly, after his coronation in 1674, Shivaji was preparing for a final show down with the Mughals. He needed vast sums of money to finance his campaigns in the north. He had spent a good deal of money on his expeditions in the Carnatic and in strengthening his defences there. Besides, there were some differences between Qutb Shah and Shivaji on the division of spoils. As a result Qutb Shah had stopped giving aid to Shivaji. Shivaji was therefore facing acute financial problems.[19] This need for money compelled Shivaji to undertake military expeditions in order to collect booty to meet his war expenses in the north. j.N.Sarkar writes "His aim was merely to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth and return home with booty. The partition of father's heritage was only a plea adopted to give a show of legality to his campaigns of plunder". "Gold and not the land was his chief object".[20] Mysore was known for its riches. We have some English Factory Records which speak of the "great riches" of Mysore and Shivaji's plundering raids in this region.[21] Thus, it seems apparent that lured by the wealth of the land Shivaji undertook a plundering raid on Srirangapatna on his way back from the Carnatic in 1677.

Dr. M.H.Krishna believes that Shivaji never invaded Mysore.[22] But the contemporary Kannada sources write about Shivaji's military action on Mysore. The literary works are corroborated by epigraphical evidence also. The Kannada writers dealing on this subject were the court poets of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. They had a first hand knowledge of this important political event that took place at the gates of Srirangapatna. The indigenous account is further substantiated by the English Factory Records which refer to the great riches that Shivaji carried from Srirangapatna after fighting several bloody battles with Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[23] In the light of these contemporary sources it is difficult to agree with the view expressed by Dr. Krishna.

In the middle of August 1677 Shivaji marched up on Srirangapatna. As soon as he entered Karnataka the local chiefs who had been formerly defeated by Chikkdevaraja Wodeyar met Shivaji and persuaded him to invade Srirangapatna and reduce Chikkadevaraja. These chiefs rendered all the necessary assistance to Shivaji in his raid on Srirangapatna. They disclosed to him all secrets of the kingdom.[24] Shivaji marched at their head and surprised Chikkadevaraja by offering a covert fight and collecting much wealth by plunder and loot.[25] Mysore was thus invested by an able conqueror whose fame had spread up to Delhi. According to the *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* Shivaji had plundered Delhi with the help of 60,000 horses and a lakh of foot acquired great fame in the north, defeated the ruler of Bijapur, received lands from him, humbled the Sultan of Golkonda and made him his own vassal.[26] Such an able conqueror was now at the gates of Srirangapatna. It was a critical movement to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The Apratima Vira Charitam writes that the rulers around Delhi, Agra and Bhaganagar were afraid of Shivaji as if he were Maya or Sambara, or the son of Ravana or Maricha, and offered him tribute.[27] Mysore had now to face such a mighty conqueror.

But, Chikkadevaraja was never disheartened. The Raja of Mysore rose to the occasion. The Mysore army fell on the invader. Several bloody battles were fought. A letter of the Fort St.Georage of January 1679 says "the *measure* (Mysore) Nayak being very strong given *Sevagee's* men one or two great overthrows and destroyed many of them."[28] *The Apratima Vira Charitram* also tells us that Shivaji who was a terror to the rulers of Delhi, Agra and Bhaganagar invaded Mysore. But Chikkadevaraja defeated him and broke his pride and as a result assumed the title *Apratima Vira* (Hero without an equal).[29] The same feeling is echoed in the *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam.*[30] This authority tells us that Shivaji who had reduced the rulers of Delhi, Bijapur and Golkonda invaded Srirangapatna swollen with the pride of tribute paid by these rulers. But Chikkadevaraja humbled him and compelled him to retreat. We have also certain epigraphical records which confirm the literary evidence.[31]

Wilks also writes that finding Chikkadevaraja too strong an opponent Shivaji found it expendient to content himself with the loot and left Mysore acknowledging Chikkadevaraja as the undisputed master of the Karnataka kingdom.[32] it is thus apparent that Chikkadevaraja defeated Shivaji. These sources, namely the Kannada literary sources, the epigraphs and the English Factory Records clearly point out that Shivaji suffered great losses at Srirangapatna at the hands of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.

its effects. Shivaji's entry into Mysore kingdom was only a passing phase in Maratha history. But it was an event of much importance in the political history of Mysore. Chikkadevaraja's success over Shivaji a person of national status very much improved the image of Mysore on South Indian political scene. Shivaji now recognised Chikkadevaraja as the undisputed ruler of Karnataka. This recognition enhanced Chikkadevaraja's prestige locally. It raised the self confidence of the Raja of Mysore and saved the independence of Karnataka.

Mysore Madura Relations

Ever since Ekoji shifted his capital to Tanjore, he had intitiated a policy of expansion in the south. He had concentrated his attention on Madura. His object was to secure some military bases in the Mudura region in order to check the advance of Mysore in this direction. Early in his reign Chikkadevaraja had defeated Chokkanatha and had acquired much territory in the southern passes leading to Madura from Mysore. Chikkadevaraja's success in Madura kingdom in 1673 was a source of great anxiety to Ekoji. Ekoji never wanted Mysore to have territorial acquisitions in Madura and wanted to expell Mysore from all its possessions in this region. Ekoji wanted to keep Mysore as far as possible away from the Maratha zone of influence in the South. Andre Freiere writes "Mysore can not see without uneasiness a bold set of people establishing themselves on her own frontiers, fortifies the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura, gathers fresh troops and makes grand preparation for war".[33] Shortly after Shivaji withdrew his steps from Karnataka Chikkadevaraja sent his army to the kingdom of Madura. In January 1678 the Mysore army defeated Ghatta Mudaliyar, a feudatory of Chokkanatha of Madura and wrested from him the tow important forts of Andur and Kunattur situated on the northern border of Madura.[34] Then he turned towards the east and occupied Erode putting to flight its chief Akka Reddi.[35] The reduction of these forts dealt a great blow to the power of Chokkanatha in his own kingdom. According to Andre Freiere " the king of Mysore entered them without striking a blow and took possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the north".[36]

Acquisition of Maddagiri by Mysore:

If the Nayak of Madura created troubles to the Raja of Mysore in the South there were several poligars in Karnataka who were still hostile to Mysore. These chiefs were very much under the influence of the Marathas. The Rajas of Mysore had reduced several such local poligars. Still, the *Morasu* chiefs or the Telugu speaking poligars in Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar areas like Kempe Gowda of Magadi, the poligars of Kolar, Doddabalapur, Maddagiri and so on were not at any time subordinate to Mysore. Chikkadevaraja now wanted to crush the *Morasu* power. He therefore planned an invasion of Maddagiri whose chief was a close ally of the Marathas in this region. Throughout his reign, Chikkadevaraja was engaged in a continuous warfare with Marathas and the Nayak of Madura. These two powers used the feudal lords as instruments to pull down the growing power of Mysore. In the course of his expansionist policy Chikkadevaraja came into conflict with the local poligars. These poligars would always invite the Marathas for help in order to save their independence. it is this desire on the part of these local chiefs to save their identity from the expansionist policy of Mysore that dictated these feudal chiefs to enter into continuous internecine war-fare against Mysore.

Having strengthened his defences in the South Chikkadevaraja turned his attention to the reduction of the principality of Maddagiri. Kala Chikkappa Gowda who was the contemporary of Chikkdevarj at Maddagiri, had assisted Kodandarama, the king of Vijayanagar in the latter's war with Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in 1674.[37] This was the cause of friction between Mysore and Maddagiri. Besides, the impregnable fort at this place was well suited to be a military base for controlling the Marathas at Sira. Sira and Maddagiri are close to each other. Mysore was therefore desirous of acquiring Maddagiri. Just at that time Chikkappa gowda the chief of Maddagiri died. A dispute arose between his two sons Ramappa Gowda and Timmappa Gowda over the question of succession. Timmappa Gowda the younger one who opposed the succession of Ramappa Gowda went with his family to Srirangapatna and solicited the help of Chikkadevaraja. This was a golden opportunity to Chikkdevaraja Wodeyar to enter the Maddagiri region. He soon sent an army under his *dalvoy* Kumaraiya on the pretext of helping Timmappa Gowda but in reality to annex Maddagiri to Mysore.[38] Kumaraiya made rapid marches and entered the territory of Maddagiri. In February and March 1678 the Mysore army acquired many places dependent on Maddagiri like Chikkatotlakere, Urdigere and Koratagere. Being unable to resist the onslaught, the chief of Maddagiri appealed to Kempe Gowda for help. Soon Kempe Gowda sent his army for the assistance of Chikkappa Gowda. But Kumaraiya defeated Kempe Gowda before the Magadi army entered the Maddagiri principality and compelled Kempe Gowda to go back. On the reduction of Kempe Gowda the Mysore army besieged the fort of Maddagiri and took the lower fort along with the town in May 1678. Kudur and Virannadurga two important dependencies of Maddagiri fell in June and July 1678.[39] In August 1678 the Mysore army took possession of the hill fort of Maddagiri *(Maddagiri Kumbhi)* and forced the Gowda to lay down his arms.[40]

The reduction of Maddagiri and the existence of the Mysore army so near to his province of Sira, alarmed Ekoji. Ekoji soon sent his army under his chief minister Yashavanta Rao for the relief of Maddagiri. By this Ekoji also meant to check the onward advance of Mysore towards the Maratha province of Sira. Otherwise the Maratha interests in Mysore would be endangered by the expansionist policy of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. It is this conception that compelled Ekoji to send the Maratha army under Yashavanta Rao to fight Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Both the armies met at Hosur in the neighbourhood of Sira where there ensued a sanguinary fight in which the Maratha army was completely routed. The Mysore army captured Yashavanta Rao alive on the battle field and cut his nose and limbs.[41] Hosur was annexed to Mysore.[42]

Dr.Kamath identifies Hosur with Hosakote in Bangalore district.[43] But this identification does not appear to be correct. For, Hosakote was one of the most important settlements of the Marathas in Mysore who held it till 1688 when Chikkadevaraja annexed it to Mysore. The capture of Yashavanta Rao (at Hosur) is also referred to in one of the inscriptions of

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar belonging to 1686.[44] Besides, the context in which Hosur is referred to in the sources indicates that this place can be identified with the extant village Hosur in the Gowdagere *Hobali* of Sira taluk, Tumkur district.[45]

After the victory at Hosur, the Mysore army again entered the Maddagiri territory. Between August and October 1678 the Mysoreans captured several important forts dependent on Maddagiri like Chinnarayaduraga, Mannekolala, Midigeshi, Bijjavara, Gundumalaidurga and Butipura.[46] By the end of 1678 the whole of Maddagiri chieftaincy was reduced. The Gowda along with his family was taken captive to Srirangapatna.[47] But he was subsequently released and sent back as a fief to Midigeshi which was left to him out of his lost possessions.[48]

After the fall of Maddagiri Chikkadevaraja annexed this province to his kingdom. He greatly strengthened it defences and converted it into a strong military centre to guard the northern border of his kingdom. Chikkadevaraja maintained a strong army at Maddagiri under *dalvoy* Doddaiya who very much strengthened its fortifications.[49] In 1690 Chikkadevaraja paid a visit along with his wife Gowramma of Talakad to Maddagiri. Here he stayed for sometime personally supervising the administrative and defence arrangements of this place.[50] The reduction of Maddagiri extended the territorial limits of Mysore in the north where it became coterminous with the Maratha settlement of Sira in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat.

Mysore Maratha Relations:
(a) Maratha Debacle at Mandya:

In the meanwhile, in Maharashra Shivaji died in 1680 and was succeeded by his son Sambhaji to the Maratha throne and to the Maratha possessions in Karnataka. Sambhaji was the born enemy of Mysore. And in pursuit of this traditional hostility he appointed general like Jaitaji, Nimbaji and so on to deal with Chikkadevaraja in Karnataka. Ikkeri took advantage of the hostilities between Sambhaji and Chikkdevaraj and rose in revolt in the north-western part of Mysore and occupied Kadur, Bhanavara, Hassan and Belur.[51] While Ikkeri was threatening Mysore from the north-west, another army of the Marathas led by Haraji, Dadaji and Jaitaji started attacking Chikkadevaraja's possessions in the south of Mysore and invested the fort of Dharmapuri which belonged to Mysore.[52] The Mysore army repulsed the Marathas after a long fight which lasted for eight months in December 1681 and chased them upto Samyaminipattanam in south Dharmapuri.[53]

Another factor that contributed for the disturbances in Karnataka during this period and embittered the Mysore-Maratha relations was the Trichinopoly question. In order to check the Maratha expansion in the Carnatic after Ekoji established his capital at Tanjore, Mysore wanted to set up a military base at Trichinopoly. Both Haraji the chief of Jinji and Sambahji realised the danger of the designs of Mysore and made great efforts to check its activities in the south. Trichinopoly belonged to Madura and Mysore wanted to acquire the same in order to check the Maratha expansion in the south. But, the Marathas wanted to repulse Mysore "whose proximity they feared".[54] The incompetent rule of Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura offered an alluring temptation to Mysore at the beginning. Since 1678 the power of Chokkanatha was declining at Madura. His commander Rustum-Khan had usurped all the authorities of the Nayak and had started ruling like an independent prince. He kept the ruling family in complete surveillance. Chokkanatha became very unhappy at this awkward situation. He appealed to Mysore and the *Marvas* for help. This request offered a good chance to Mysore to push its conquests further into the Madura region. Chikkadevaraja readily conceded to the request and sent his army under his *dalvoy* Kumariya ostensibly for the relief of Chokkanatha but really to reduce Trichinopoly.[55] The Mysore Palace Records state that Chikkadevaraja sent his army to Madura territory for the collection of the tribute which was in arrears since 1667.[56] This may partly be correct. Because, after his defeat by Doddadevaraja at Erode in 1667, Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura had terminated the hostilities by agreeing to pay annual tribute to Mysore.[57] Chikkanatha never complied with the terms of this treaty. But the real intention of Mysore, according to the Company Records, was only to try for the reduction of Trichinopoly.[58] Kumaraiya quickly marched to Madura. He defeated Rustum Khan in a battle and freed Chokkanatha from the clutches of the latter.[59] Chokkanatha was very happy at Kumaraiya's timely help. He wrote to the Governor of Madras "we and the *NAIGUE* of *MISURE* are now good friends".[60] But Chokkanatha was unable to understand the real intention of the Raja of Mysore. It is out of his self interest Chikkadevaraja had sent assistance to Chokkanatha but not really to save him from the tyranny of Rustum-Khan. Kumaraiya greatly embarassed Chokkanatha by demanding Trichinopoly as a price for his help. Wilks, quoting a family manuscript, tells us that Kumariya "made a vow not to appear before his Raja until he had taken Trichinopoly".[61]

The demand of Kumaraiya very much irritated Chokkanatha. He ultimately turned to the Marathas for help to save himself from this predicament. The Marathas readily joined Chokkanatha on the pretext of helping him against the demand of Kumaraiya, but in reality to obviate Chikkadevaraja's designs on Trichinopoly. The cessation of Trichinopoly to Mysore would lead to constant friction between Mysore and the Marathas. For Trichinopoly was close to the Maratha Settlements of Jinji and Tanjore.[62] The Marathas were therefore bent upon expelling Mysore from the Madura region somehow or other. Thus, Trichinopoly became a bone of Contention between Mysore and the Marathas.

Kumaraiya was unable to face this big combination of powers like the Marathas, Chokkanatha and the *Maravas*. Therefore he made some sly efforts individually with some of the allies in order to break the confederacy. He first tried with Chokkanatha offering him peace "promising to preserve the kingdom for him and re- establishing the successors of the ancient Nayaks of Tanjore and Jinji".[63] But Chokkanatha did not yield. having failed to entice Chokkanatha, Kumaraiya turned to Haraji and tried to "corrupt his fidelity" by offering him large sums of money. By this Kumaraiya only wanted to gain time to get additional help from Mysore which he had applied for. But his letters "fell into the hands of his rivals who kept away these despatches to ruin the general". The Marathas now came to know the intentions of Kumaraiya. Haraji therefore decided to take suitable steps to deal with this general. He took advantage of the absence of the major part of the Mysore army from Srirangapatna and of the serious predicament of Kumaraiya at Trichinopoly. He now sent a strong Maratha force under his generals Dadaji Kakade, Jaitaji and Nimbaji against Mysore with instructions to attack Srirangapatna. The Maratha army soon entered the interior of Mysore and encamped near the village Kottatti and Honnalagere near Mandya and thus threatened the security of Srirangapatna, Chikkadevaraja's capital itself.

Chikkadevaraja's position now became critical. Because the major portion of his army was at Trichinopoly. He soon sent a word to *dalvoy* Kumaraiya asking him to send the major part of the army for the protection of the capital.[64] Accordingly Kumaraiya sent a strong force under his nephew general Doddaiya. The Mysore army made rapid marches through the Kaveripuram passes and arrived near the place where the Marathas had encamped. The Place Records give us a graphic account of the battle that ensued here and the stratagem played by the Mysore army on this occasion. Doddaiya made a surprise night attack on the Marathas. The Mysore general carefully fastened lighted torches to the horns of three hundred transport oxen under him and drove the animals from different directions on the Maratha camp. The Marathas were taken by surprise and were very much confused by the sudden rush of the army. The Mysore army followed the oxen and fell on the Maratha camp. There ensued one of the most sanguinary battles in which the Maratha army was simply butchered and plundered. Dadaji, Jaitaji and Nimbaji were captured alive and slain on the battle field.[65] Their heads were cut off and hung on one of the gateways of Srirangapatna.[66]

This victory of Chikkadevaraja foiled the Maratha design on Srirangapatna and left a profound impression on his contemporaries also. In particular, the defeat on these generals is said to have very much delighted Aurangazeb who praised Chikkadevaraja for his heroic achievement. Dalvoy Virarajiaya writes that this victory made Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar the undisputed master of Karnataka.[67] Kashipati Pandita, an eighteenth century commentator, writes that by this victory over the Marathas Chikkadevaraja fully asserted his right for supremacy over Karnataka.[68]

(b) Kumaraiya's rout at Trichinopoly:

The defeat of the Maratha army at Mandya had great repercussions on Kumaraiya at Trichinopoly. The death of Dadaji and others left a deep sense of humiliation on Haraji. Now Haraji decided to retaliate. Kumaraiya's position at Trichinopoly was very precarious. "Receiving neither re-inforcements nor reply to his letters, Kumara Raya was obliged to seek safety in an honourable retreat. He was therefore waiting for a chance to flee towards Mysore with all his men unnoticed by the enemy." But, the Marathas would not allow themselves to be put on the wrong scent; for a long time past their self conceit and audacity had been increasing by the inaction of Kumara Raya which revealed to them his weakness and their strength; they kept close to his army and none of his actions could escape them".[69] Taking advantage of Kumaraiya's weakness without adequate soldiers under him, the Marathas once suddenly fell on the Mysore army at Trichinopoly and inflicted a severe loss. A large number of military officers on Mysore side were captured including Kumaraiya himself. "The defeat and capture of this general till then invincible completed the joy and pride of Arasumalai (Haraji)". He followed this "glorious victory" and started driving away the Mysoreans from all their citadels which they had taken from the Nayak of Madura.[70]

(c) Sambhaji's defeat at Banavara:

The Marathas however were not satisfied with their victory at Trichinopoly. The merciless slaughter of Dadaji and Nimbaji at Mandya did not quench Sambhaji's thirst for revenge. He wanted to take more retaliatory steps to retrieve the Maratha loss. Besides, though Haraji had expelled the Mysoreans from all their possessions in Madura the Mysoreans retained most of their acquisitions in this region with the help of the *Marvas.* "The latter (Mysoreans) still possess some fortresses. among others that of Madura with the help of the *Marvas*".[71] Sambhaji was bent upon reducing Mysore and bringing the whole of South under his control.[72] These conditions compelled Sambhaji to send another expedition to Mysore in 1682. " Among the many campaign that fill the stormy reign of Sambhaji, his campaign against Mysore may rightly be assigned the pride of place".[73] The Maratha defeat near Mandya must have convinced Sambhaji of the futility of attacking Mysore single handed. Therefore Sambhaji entered into an alliance with Bassappa Nayak of Ikkeri and Qutb Shah of Golkonda.[74] "He, (Sambhaji) is helped by Iquerian or the King of Canara and by the king of Golkonda both of whom are united against the king of Mysore who is regarded as the common enemy".[75]

The allied forces consisting of Sambhaji, Basappa Nayak, the poligar of Ikkeri, and Qutb Shah of Golkonda, marched towards Mysore. A part of the Maratha army under Ekoji entered Mysore from the south to the assistance of Sambhaji. Sambhaji, with his allies, moved from the north-west of Mysore. But the further advance of the confederate forces was checked by the Mysore army at Banavara in June 1682. Here, there ensued a severe fight in which, according to Tirumalarya, Sambhaji was defeated amidst heavy loss and was obliged to retreat.[76] This is corroborated by the *Srirangapatna Temple Inscription*[77] and is further substantiated by contemporary literary evidence as well.[78] Just at this time Ekoji arrived with his army for the assistance of Sambhaji. But he was humbled by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and was obliged to beat a hasty retreat.[79] This defeat dashed to ground the Maratha hopes of establishing their sway in Karnataka.

(d) Chikkadevaraja's reverses in the Carnatic:

But, Sambhaji was never deterred by this defeat. He allied himself with the poligar of Ikkeri and Qutb Shah of Golkonda and moved to the Madura region. Here Sambhaji was further joined by Haraji of Jinji and Ekoji of Tanjore. Chikkadevaraja was again isolated and he had to face a big combination of hostile powers. soon the king of Mysore solicited the help of Aurangazeb who was then at Aurangabad. History of south India would have taken a different course had Aurangazeb favourabley responded to Chikkdevaraja's request. For, Chikkadevaraja would have been a useful ally to Aurangazeb in his wars in the south. But, as he was engaged in a serious struggle with Bijapur Aurangazeb could not pay much attention to Chikkadevaraja's request.[80] Sambhaji took full advantage of this distressing condition of Mysore. With the assistance of his supporters he carried on an offensive war against Mysore between 1682-1686 from the south and the east. He occupied several important fortresses of Mysore in the Madura region like Dharmapuri and so on.[81] While Sambhaji was conducting aggressions against Mysore in Madura region, Chikkadevaraja's vassals in the Carnatic gave up their allegiance to Mysore and declared their independence. At last Chikkadevaraja realised the futility of continuing these atrocious wars and bought off the enemy by paying a heavy tribute.[82] Hostilities came to an end. Circumstances compelled the Marathas also to cease the hostilities. for, after reducing Bijapur in 1686, the Mughal army penetrated into the interior of the south. Sambhaji was therefore anxious to come to any settlement with Chikkadevaraja and to hurry back to his home to face the threat of the Mughals. So Sambhaji readily accepted the tribute paid to him by Chikkdevaraja Wodeyar and withdrew his forces fro m the Carnatic.

Chikkadevaraja seeks Mughal intervention:

These devastating wars in the Carnatic and the heavy tribute paid by him to the Marathas drained the resources of Chikkadevaraja to a great extent. Secondly Chikkdevaraj lost many of his important bastion in the Carnatic. His influence in this region began to grow weak. According to a Jesuit letter of 1686 "the petty poligars, once vassals of Madura, continue to shake off their yoke of Mysore".[83] Mysore was too weak to preserve its conquests in the south. "Sambhaji mercilessly conducts wars against the king of Mysore whose dominions he is invading and is strongly helped by the inhabitants against their own sovereign".[84] After his reverses in the Carnatic the power of the king of Mysore was at its lowest ebb. There was no local power to whom Chikkadevaraja could turn for help. It is just at this time that Aurangazeb started his military action both against Bijapur and Golkonda. Aurangazeb's arrival in the south was a turning point in Chikkadevaraja's career. For, having no strong allies at home to face the aggressions of the Marathas, Chikkdevaraj befriended Aurangazeb. He joined the Emperor Aurangazeb in his wars against the Deccan Sultans. The Mughal army reduced Bijapur on 12 September 1686. This was followed by the reduction of Golkonda on 21 September 1687. During these wars the Mysore army was present on the side of Aurangazeb.[85] The Chikkadevaraja Binnapam even tells us that Chikkadevaraja invited the Mughal emperor to the south to reduce the Bijapuris and the Marathas.[86] But, this statements seems to be an exaggeration. Because, Aurangazeb only continued the wars against the Deccan Sultans which were already initiated by his predecessors. All that we can infer from the available evidences is that when Aurangazeb invaded the Deccan, Chikkadevaraja might have rendered some military assistance to the emperor. Chikkadevaraja voluntarily joined the emperor for his own cause. However, Aurangazeb had a good opinion about Chikkadevaraja. For, the latter was a great enemy of the Marathas and firmly opposed the Maratha expansionist policy in the south. Therefore Aurangazeb might have welcomed Chikkadevaraja as a useful ally in his (emperor's) task of quelling the Bijapuris and the Marathas in the south. Chikkadevaraja's assistance to the emperor in his war with the Deccan Sultans made a great influence on Mysore. The Mysore Raja's association with the emperor of Delhi greatly enhanced the prestige of Mysore in the eyes of his local contemporaries.

But, Chikkadevaraja's attitude in be-friending Aurangazeb offended Sambhaji. for, in the wars of 1682-1686 Chikkadevaraja submitted to the Marathas and agreed to pay them tribute. But soon the Raja of Mysore repudiated this treaty and joined Aurangazeb. He withheld the tribute due to the Marathas. Sambhaji therefore decided to punish Chikkadevaraja for this non-compliance of the treaty obligations and declared war on Mysore. There was one more factor which was very favourable to Sambahaji to March on Mysore at that time. that is, Chikkadevaraja had sent a major part of his army to the assistance of Aurangazeb in the latter's war at Bijapur. As a result many of the forts and citadels of Chikkadevaraja in Mysore were defenceless.[87] Worse than this, Chikkadevaraja was facing acute financial troubles at that time. Sambhaji's offensive wars had drained away Chikkadevaraja's treasury. In order to meet his was expenses in the south, Chikkadevaraja had resorted to exactions. This brought him into conflict with his own subjects in the eastern province of his kingdom. Sambhaji took full advantage of these distressing conditions of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and invaded Mysore with the support of the *Morasu* (Telugu people), *Tigula* (Tamil), Kodagu and Maleyala chiefs.[88] Possibly some Telugu speaking people in Bangalore region like Kempe Gowda, the poligars of Kolar and Doddaballapur and the Nayak of Madura *(Tigula)* might have assisted Sambhaji on this occasion.

The combined army marched on Mysore in 1686 and laid siege to Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat.[89] This is corroborated by the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* and *Mysore Place Records.*[90] There was little resistance to the Marathas. Ekoji could easily wrest many of the important settlements in the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat like Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere, Tyamagondalu and so on.[91] It was a critical moment to Chikkadevaraja. Because, he was facing a great economic crisis at that time. But, an unexpected incident changed the fortune of Mysore. Aurangazeb reduced Bijapur on 12 September 1686. After reducing Bijapur, the Mughal emperor sent an army under Khasim Khan to Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat.

Why did Aurangazeb direct his attention towards the Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat instead of Maharashtra? It is likely that Chikkadevaraja might have invited the Mughal emperor to come to his rescue in this region and Aurangazeb might have conceded to Chikkadevaraja's request. Because, at that time Sambhaji was conducting aggressions in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat. Aurangazeb might have thought that his march on Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat at that time would serve two purposes. First, he could go to the rescue of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and secondly he could also fight the Marathas who were conducting wars of expansion in this area at that time against Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Sarkar also writes that after reducing Bijapur, Aurangazeb marched towards Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat in 1687.[92] The statement met with in the *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* that Chikkadevaraja invited Auranzeb to fight the Marathas and the Bijapuris, seems to have some relevance in this context.

The Mughal army under Khasim Khan arrived at Tumkur on 1 March 1687. The arrival of the Mughal army in Mysore gave Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar much moral strength to march on the Marathas who were then conducting raids in the north-western region of Mysore. According to the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* Khasim Khan took Tumkur on 1 March 1687 and that Chikkadevaraja took it the same night.[93] Many of the modern scholars write that Chikkadevaraja took Tumkur after defeating Khasim Khan in a battle on 1 March 1687.[94] It is highly inconceivable that Chikkadevaraja could so easily fight the imperial army in a single day and annex Tumkur. The trend of events seems to indicate that Chikkadevaraja and the Mughals made a common cause to fight the Marathas in Mysore. The *Mysure Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* never refers to any war between Khasim Khan and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. On the other hand, this authority speaks of an agreement (*Kaul*) between the two.[95] The *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* tells us that Chikkadevaraja actually invited Aurangazeb to fight the Marathas in the south. Wilks also speaks of an "amicable agreement" between Chikkadevaraja and Khasim Khan during the latter's military operations in Karnataka.[96] A critical analysis of the available evidences seems to suggest that Khasim Khan first occupied Tumkur and soon transferred it to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.

After making over Tumkur to Chikkadevaraja, Khasim Khan marched towards Bangalore while Chikkadevaraja turned towards the north-western border of Mysore. Ekoji had now to conduct war on two fronts in Mysore region. Apart from waging war in the north- west of Mysore against Chikkadevaraja, he had to face Khasim Khan who attacked Bangalore which belonged to the Marathas. This was a good opportunity to Chikkadevaraja to crush the Marathas in Mysore. Chikkadevaraja now fell on the Maratha camp in the north west of Mysore where he put the enemy to rout and wrested from them Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and Tyamagondlu which were just caputred by them.[97] The *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* states that the *Morasu, Tigula, Kodagu* and the *Malleyalam* forces which proceeded on Mysore in collusion with the Marathas, were humbled by Chikkadevaraja and were forced to retrace their steps.[98] This was the last trial of strength between the Marathas and Chikkadevaraja in Mysore. These successive defeats of the Marathas in Mysore region namely at Hosur in 1678, Mandya in 1681, Banavara in 1682 and Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat in 1687 made them give up their aspiration for supremacy in Karnataka. The *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* tells us that as a result of his defeat in Mysore Sambhaji was virtually plunged in an ocean of fear.[99] Tirumalarya remarks that as the Marathas roused the wreath of Chikkadevaraja they finally lost all chances of establishing their sway in Mysore.[100] Thus, after the arrival of the Mughals in Mysore, Chikkdevaraj could greatly improve his position in Karnataka and drive away the Marathas from many of their settlements in this region.

Fall of Bangalore:

The advance of the Mughal army and the successes of Chikkadevaraja in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat alarmed Sambhaji. He soon sent a detachment under Keshva Pant and Shantaji Ghorpade to join Haraji Raja at Jinji and to safeguard the Maratha possessions in Karnataka. These settlements were the Jagirs of Shaji and were then held by Ekoji. The entry of Aurangazeb into Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat marks the beginning of the end of the Maratha rule in Mysore. Besides this, there was another factor which considerably hastened the decline of the Maratha power in Karnataka at this hour of crisis. There was no unity among the Maratha leaders. Ekoji and Shantaji did not see eye to eye with each other. The disturbed political conditions prevailing in Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat made it difficult to Ekoji to maintain his paternal estates in Mysore. He also found it 'expensive' to defend these possessions from distant Tanjore. He therefore opened negotiations with Chikkadevaraja and decided to sell away Bangalore to the latter for rupees there lakhs. But the Marathas at Jinji were never happy to loose Bangalore. The Mughals were equally anxious to wrest this important Maratha Settlement in this region. But the dissensions in the Maratha court at Jinji delayed their arrival at Bangalore. Khasim Khan however arrived first before Chikkadevaraja could complete his transactions with Ekoji. He took Bangalore without any resistance and hoisted the imperial flag on the fort on 10 July 1687.[101]

Acquisition of Bangalore by Chikkadevaraja:

Regarding the more of disposal of Bangalore by Ekoji the sources give us divergent views. *The Mysore Palace Records* state that Chikkadevaraja defeated the Mughal army and wrested Bangalore from Khasim Khan on 15 July 1687.[102] The Maratha sources also confirm this assertion and tell us that Chikkadevaraja defeated Khasim Khan with the aid of Haraji Raja of Jinji.[103] But none of these versions appears to be supported by valid evidences. It is hard to believe that Chikkadevaraja could so easily defeat the imperial forces which were far superior in number and resources to those of Mysore. The *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* tells us that Chikkadevaraja invited Aurangazeb to fight the Shahi Sultans and the Marathas in this region and rendered the Mughals all possible help in this enterprise. Chikkadevaraja was thus an ally of the emperor of Delhi. It is hard to believe that he would so soon turn against Khasim Khan who had undertaken his campaigns in Karnataka to assist the Raja of Mysore. The Marahas were the born enemies of Mysore. It is unbelievable that they would so soon join Chikkadevaraja to thwart Khasim Khan's designs on Bangalore in particular. J.N.Sarkar, quoting certain Persian manuscripts, writes that in the capture of Bangalore the Mughal general was aided by the chief of Srirangapatna, the enemy of Shivaji's home.[104] The Maratha sources lack sufficient corroboration. In fact, the Maratha army under Haraji and other leaders started under the directions of Sambhaji to protect the Maratha settlements in Karnataka from falling into the hands of the Mysore Raja or the Mughals. That being the case, how is it possible that Chikkadevaraja took Bangalore from Khasim Khan with the assistance of the Marathas who were actually hostile to Mysore? The differences between the two were so much that each was trying to overcome the other for supremacy in the south. Under these circumstances the chances of their coming together for the larger interest of "South Indian solidarity" was quite impossible.[105]

Wilks observes that Chikkadevaraja skillfully avoided any confrontation with the Mughal emperor and "continued to propitiate in whatever manner, the court of Aurangazeb".[106] He even writes of an "amicable arrangement" and a "friendly inter course" between Chikkadevaraja and Khasim Khan who represented Mysore to Aurangazeb as "a state which ought to be encouraged as a counterpoise in the south to the dangerous power of the Marathas and although the conquest of Mysore was in the direct contemplation of that emperor, it was obviously his interest to postpone it so long as the Raja could be of use by being placed on the flank and rear of his actual enemies".[107] It is interesting to note that Khasim Khan never entered the zone of Chikkadevaraja's influence in Karnataka. This shows that Chikkadevaraja's acquisitions had the approval of the emperor of Delhi. Chikkadevaraja was wise enough to understand the circumstance properly and court the friendship of Khasim Khan and thus enlist the support and confidence of the Mughal emperor. This would enable him (Chikkadevaraja) to overawe the petty chieftains in Karnataka and secure their submission. Therefore, as Wilks observes, Chikkadevaraja made "Common cause" with Khasim Khan and opened negotiations with the latter to buy Bangalore from him. Khasim Khan also found Chikkadevaraja to be a useful ally; and as he had "more important objects in view, found that by accepting the price which the *Raja* was still willing to pay, he should, exclusively of a pecuniary aid, be relieved from the necessity of making a large detachment for the occupation of the place, while its use as a point of communication would still be preserved".[108]

Further, a few years after, Chikkadevaraja sent an embassy to the court of Aurangazeb. The emperor received the ambassador *Karanik* Lingannaiya cordially. Aurangazeb sent back the embassy with costly presents conferring on Chikkadevaraja some high titles in due recognition of the latter's supremacy over Karnataka territory. Dr.Muddachari says that if Chikkadevaraja had been hostile to Aurangazeb, there was no meaning in his sending the goodwill mission to Aurangazeb, or if Chikkadevaraja had really worked against the Mughal interest in Karnataka, Aurangazeb would never have received this ambassador at all.[109] Under these circumstances the supposition that Chikkadevaraja took Bangalore by his valor defeating Aurangazeb, appears to be only an exaggeration.

On the basis of some Persian manuscripts in the Jaipur palace, Setu Madhava Rao Pagadi holds the view that the Mysore Raja received the *Ijara authority* over Bangalore from Khasim Khan.[110] This meant that Aurangazeb leased out Bangalore and its surroundings to Chikkadevaraja. The term *Ijara* according to Pagadi, is not even a *Jagir* but is described as "management by an agent on a contract basis".[111]

A critical survey of the available sources indicates that after occupying Bangalore on 10 July 1687, Khasim Khan handed over this place to Chikkadevaraja on 15 July in return for a sum of 3 lakhs of rupees. It was also stipulated in the Sale deed that the ultimate authority over this settlement would rest with the emperor of Delhi. The emperor stationed here a *faujdar* (military governor) to safeguard the imperial interests in this region. It was very late when the Maratha relieving force from Jinji under Haraji and others arrived at Bangalore. And finding that this place had already gone out of Ekoji's hands, the Maratha army went back having accomplished nothing but conducting some devastating raids around Bangalore.[112] Thus passed into the hands of the Mysore Raja the important settlement of Bangalore. The Marathas held this place since the days of Shahji. Shahji got it as a Jagir from Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1638. It was Ekoji's mishandling of the affairs that led to the loss of such an important place. First of all he should not have shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. Secondly, he ought not to have contemplated on the sale of this place. These are really some blunders committed by Ekoji.

Decline of Maratha power in the Carnatic:

With the passing away of Bangalore, the Marathas lost much of their power in Karnataka. In addition to this, there were certain other factors which hastened the decline of the Maratha power in Karnataka and paved the way to the rise of Mysore. On the subjugation of Golkonda in 1687, Aurangazeb turned to crush the Marathas in the south. He first wanted to attack Sambhaji in his capital. In Karnataka Bijapur Balaghat he wrested Sira from the Marathas and appointed Khasim Khan as the *faujdar* of that place. Aurangazeb's main object in occupying Sira was possibly to isolate the Maratha leaders in the Carnatic. Sira acted as a gateway between Maharashtra and many other places in the Carnatic where the Maratha influence predominated. With the occupation of this place by Khasim Khan, this high way was closed to the Marathas. Haraji at Jinji and Ekoji at Tanjore were separated from Maharashtra. They could now expect no help from Maharashtra. Having separated these Maratha leaders in the Carnatic from their main land, Aurangazeb directed his operations in Maharashtra. These activities of Aurangazeb gave Chikkadevaraja an opportunity to deal with Haraji and others in the Carnatic. Because, Sambhaji was now too busy in defending his kingdom against the Mughals. He was not in a position to send any help to Haraji at JInji. Besides, Khasim Khan's presence at Sira prevented Sambhaji from sending any assistance to Haraji even if he desired to do so. Chikkadevaraja now got a good opportunity to attack the Marathas in the Carnatic. Aurangazeb had taken an oath not to return to Delhi until Sambhaji was eliminated.[113]

While Aurangazeb attacked Sambhaji in the north, Khasim Khan simultaneously took offensive in the Carnatic. He marched with his army and laid siege to Jinji. Haraji was now busy in defending Jinji. Chikkadevaraja grasped the situation and entered the Carnatic. This was a good opportunity to shake the Maratha power in the Carnatic and also to drive them from all their possessions in Mysore. Accordingly Chikkadevaraja sent his army under his agent *(Gurikara)* Chikkaiya of Shankagiri who, in june 1688 annexed Hosakote (Bangalore district) and its dependencies Avaniperur and Arasharavani.[114] Again in the month of November of the same year he occupied Manugondedurga, mannargudi and Vamalur. In January 1689 he wrested Dharmapuri from Ekoji. This loss of territory further weakened the power of the Marathas in the Carnatic.

It is exactly at this time that Aurangazeb captured Sambhaji who was executed in March 1689. This incident had great ulterior repercussions on Maratha fortunes in the Carnatic. For, in his death Chikkadevaraja's greatest adversary in Karnataka was removed. Chikkadevaraja now continued his aggressions in the Carnatic with greater vigor. The Mysore army besieged Paramatti. This fort was taken in May 1689. Between July and September 1689 Lingarajaiya, another agent of Chikkadevaraja at Coimbatore, occupied Kaveripattanam and Kunattur.[115] Marching further, Chikkadevaraja annexed Kengeri, Bevuhalli and Bairanetta from the Marathas.[116]

Thus, by 1690 Chikkadevaraja could improve greatly his position in the Carnatic. Haraji was unable to face these aggressions. He had neither men nor resources to face the situation. He therefore concluded peace with Chikkadevaraja in January 1690. He ceded Anantagiri to Mysore and terminated the hostilities.[117] Haraji did not survive long this disaster. He died shortly after this war. In his death Mysore lost another of its rival. With these reverses in the Carnatic and the death of Haraji, the power of the Marathas began to grow weaker and weaker in the Carnatic. On the other hand these factors made Mysore more and more powerful. In 1691 Khasim Khan occupied Doddaballapur and drove the Marathas out of this important settlement.[118] Doddaballapr was one of the remaining bastions of the Marathas in Mysore region. The loss of this fort meant another blow to the already dwindling Maratha power in Mysore.

Mysore Ikkeri Relations:

On the execution of Sambhaji in 1689 Shivaji II was crowned king of Maharashtra and Rajaram brother of Sambhaji was made the regent.[119] Aurangazeb sent an army under Zulfikar Khan who captured Shivaji II. The Mughal army next began to chase Rajaram. Rajaram and his followers stared fleeing from place to place and passing through Ikkeri, Bangalore, Channapattana and Srirangapatana, they arrived at Jinji in November 1689. Throughhout, they travelled in the guise of pilgrims and mendicants and were unnoticed by the Mughal army that was chasing them. On hereing about the arrival of Rajaram at Jinji, Aurangazeb sent an army under Zulfikar Khan to reduce the fort. Chikkadevaraja who was hitherto busy in fighting Haraji in the Carnatic, soon withdrew his army from that area and took offensive in the Ikkeri region. There were two factors which were favourable to Chikkadevaraja to march against Ikkeri at that time First, from 1690 onwards Aurangazeb was at a perpetual war with the Marahas at Jinji nearly for eight years. The Marathas in the Carnatic had to employ all their time and resources to defend their territory from the Mughal attack. As a result, Chikkadevaraja was freed from the Maratha danger in the Carnatic. Secondly with the fall of Bijapur, Ikkeri had lost a good ally. Ikkeri would always join either Bijapur or the Marathas and concert joint action on Mysore. Aurangazeb crushed Bijapur in 1686. Ikkeri was now isolated. Chikkadevaraja decided to turn these developments to his own advantage by crushing Channammaji, the queen of Ikkeri.

There is some controversy among the scholars regarding the circumstances leading to Chikkadevaraja's attack on Ikkeri in 1690. Hayavadana Rao writes that Chikkadevaraja undertook this campaign in order to justify his claim to the title Karnataka *Chakravarti.*[120] (Sovereign of Karnataka). But, Dr. Muddachari rejects this view on the ground that mere acquisition of a few settlements in the Ikkeri territory would not be sufficient to justify Chikkadevaraja's claim for sovereignty over Karnataka. For, there were some other important places like Kolar, Doddaballapur and so on, the conquest of which was very essential to call himself *Karnataka Chakravarti.*[121] According to Dr.Muddachari, Chikkadevaraja's expedition to Ikkeri was a punitive one. For, Chikkadevaraja wanted to punish Channammaji for the help she gave to Rajaram and his followers during their flight to Jinji.

But, it is hard to accept this view also. Because Aurangazeb had already punished the *Rani* for her giving protection to Rajaram during the latter's flight to Jinji. There was no need for Chikkadevaraja to punish Channammaji again for the help given by her to the Maratha fugitive. Besides, this act of the *Rani* also in no way affected the interests of Mysore. The real reason why Chikkadevaraja under took his expeditions in the Ikkeri region was only his desire for territorial acquisitions. Ever since the acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar in 1610 the Rajas of Mysore were interested in the conquest of Channapattana and Ikkeri. Because these two provinces were formerly included in the Karnataka Viceroyalty of Srirangapatna. Chamaraja Wodeyar V occupied Channapattana in 1630. But Ikkeri still remained unconquered by Mysore. Chikkadevaraja might have utilised the opportunity to the conquest of Ikkeri in order to complete the conquest of the Viceroyalty of Srirangapatna. Therefore, as soon as he withdrew his army from the Carnatic, Chikkadevaraja sent his army to the north-western border of his kingdom. In April 1690 the Mysore army wrested Bagadi from the poligar of that place.[122] In the following month Honnavalli and Banavara fell to Mysore. Between June and August 1690 the Mysore army captured several important places in the Keladi principality like Kadur, Sakkarepattana and Vastare. In August Chikkamagalur and Maharajadurga fell to Mysore. The chain of Chikkadevaraja's conquests in this region came to an end with the acquisition of Hassan and Grama (Shantigrama) in September 1690.[123]

After her reverses in the wars of 1689-90 with Mysore, Channammaji withdrew and there were no wars between Mysore and Ikkeri for some time. But hostilities again broke out in 1695. Channammaji took the offensive this time. For, in 1695 she sent her army against Mysore under her generals Channabasava Setti and Kupu Khan.[124] The Ikkeri army was assisted by Krishnappa Nayaka of Aigur and the poligar of Chintakal[125] (Chitradurga). In January 1695 the combined army laid siege to Arkalagud which belonged to Mysore.[126] The siege lasted for one month. A bloody battle was fought on the outskirts of the village Hebbale (Perbale) in Arkalgud taluk.[127] The Mysoreans put the enemy to rout amidst heavy losses and forced the Ikkeri army to retreat. The Mysore army captured Arkalagud which was finally annexed to Mysore.[128] The result of this war was that Mysore made a permanent acquisition of Arkalagud, Shakleshpur and Hassan and established fully its authority over this area. The fall of the Maratha power in Mysore and the acquisitions that Chikkadevaraja made in Ikkeri region in 1690-1695 considerably enlarged the territorial limits of Mysore. Besides, the cordial relationship that Chikkadevaraja maintained with the Mughal emperor, enhanced the prestige of Mysore in the politics of Karnataka. Mysore now started growing larger and richer with these acquisitions and by the end of the 17th century emerged out as a compact strong kingdom on the ruins of Vijayanagar.

Adverting to the flight of Rajaram it should be noted that the Maratha party under him reached Jinji in November 1689. Under instructions from Aurangazeb Zulfikar Khan invested the fort of Jinji in September 1690. Aurangazeb sent fresh reinforcements under his son Kam Baksh. The siege was a protracted one. A Maratha army under Shantaji Ghorpade consisting of 15,000 horses arrived at Jinji in December 1692 to the relief of the fort. Shantaji soon started aggressions in the Carnatic and occupied Trichinopoly in 1693.[129] On the basis of a letter of

13 April 1694 from the Mughal camp Setu Madhava Rao Pagadi writes that Aurangazeb ordered the *Zamindar* of Srirangapatna, *Rao Jagadev,* to send 500 cavalry and 1000 infantry to the assistance of Zulfikar Khan.[130] In January 1695 the Mughal army under Khasim Khan was attacked by the Marathas led by Shantaji and Bharamappa Nayaka of Chitradurga at Dodderi in Chitradurga district. The combined army laid siege to the fort of Dodderi. Supplies were cut off and the Mughal army was forced to capitulate.[131] To avoid disgrace Khasim Khan took poison and died.[132] In the meanwhile Aurangazeb sent fresh reinforcements under Himmat Khan for the assistance of the Mughal army. But, Shantaji intercepted the Mughal army at Basavapattana and slew Himmat Khan in a battle fought at this place.

The Mughal reverses at Dodderi and Basavapattana emboldened Shantaji. Aurangazeb sent another force under Deedar Bux son of Arum Tara to assist Zulfikar Khan against the Marathas. A letter of Fort St. George of 14 April 1696 says that Shantaji kept a strong army at *Seerpe* (Sira) to prevent Deedar Bux joining Zulfikar Khan and started aggressions in Mysore.[133] Shantaji's main object in entering Mysore was possibly to prevent Chikkadevaraja coming to the assistance of the Mughals. But, misfortune again haunted the Marathas in Mysore. On the basis of a mutilated paragraph of the *Madras Records* of 19 January 1696-97 Wilks writes that the Maratha army which entered the Mysore kingdom was defeated by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar near Mysore.[134] On being defeated by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, Shantaji descended into the south through Salem. Chikkadevaraja persued the retreating army and captured Salem, paramatti, Namakal and Tammambatti in March-April 1697.[135] Aurangazeb sent Deedar Bux to Jinji and ordered Zulfikar Khan to curb Shantaji's activities in Mysore. On his arrival in Mysore Zulfikar Khan learnt that the Maratha army was already defeated by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and had disappeared from this region. Then he returned immediately into the lower country.[136] This is the last blow that the Marathas received in Mysore during Chikkadevaraja's reign.

These conquests of Chikkadevaraja in Salem district in 1697 coincided with Aurangazeb's final military operations at Jinji. Jinji fell on 30 January 1698.[137] In the meanwhile Rajaram escaped to Satara. The fall of Jinji dealt a strong blow to the Maratha rule in the Carnatic. We may now see that Aurangazeb's entry into Karnataka contributed to a great extent to the decline of the Maratha rule in this region. This weakened position of the Marathas gave adequate scope to Chikkadevarj to reconquer all the settlements that he had lost to them in the wars of 1682-1686 both in Mysore as well as in the Baramahals. The fall of Jinji and the difficulties that followed the Marathas made Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar more powerful in Mysore.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's embassy to the court of Aurangazeb:

By about 1697 Chikkadevaraja was no doubt able to subdue many of his adversaries like the Marathas, the poligar of Ikkeri and so on.[138] But, tin the death of Khasim Khan in 1695, the Raja of Mysore lost a useful ally who represented Mysore at the court of Aurangazeb. However, Chikkadevaraja seems to have felt the need to have diplomatic relations with the imperial court in order to strengthen his position locally. For there was no local power on whom he could rely in times of danger. Chikkadevaraja lived in the midst of enemies. Though the

Marathas, the poligar of Ikkeri and so on were defeated by Chikkdevaraja Wodeyar, they were likely to join together and attack Mysore at any time. At such a time Chikkadevaraja possibly desired to strengthen his bonds of friendship with the imperial house. Because, such a relationship with the emperor, would create some sense of fear in the minds of such of the poligars that were still hostile to Mysore.[139] Wilks writes that Chikkadevaraja's various conquests, besides creating combinations against him, had also excited a certain degree of jealousy in the mind of the emperor himself. It was therefore necessary that he should "establish fresh interest at the court and if possible obtain the recognition of his authority in its present enlarged extent".[140] With this end in view, Chikkadevaraja sent in 1699, an embassy to Aurangazeb who was then holding his court at Aurangabad. The embassy which was led by *Karanika* lingannaiya a reputed *Vakil* in the court of Chikkadevaraja, left Srirangapatna in January 1699. The ambassador was given a warm reception. The emperor heartily accepted the gifts sent by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and spoke very cordially to the ambassador. In fact, Aurangazeb lay claim to his sovereignty over Srirangapatna. But, he was very much impressed at the etiquette of Chikkadevaraja and the services rendered by him in putting down the Marathas in Mysore. The emperor therefore postponed his idea of the conquest of Mysore so long as the Raja of Mysore was a useful ally. On the other hand, the emperor conferred on Chikkadevaraja the title *Raja Jagadev* (King of the world) and presented a seal bearing a Persian inscription "Raja Chikkadevaraja Ahmad-Shahi". He also sent to Chikkadevaraja several costly presents besides a letter of authority duly recognising the right of the Raja of Mysore for sovereignty over Karnataka. The embassy returned to Srirangapatna in 1700.

Its effects:

This embassy of Chikkadevaraja made some good effects on the political position of Mysore in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Aurangazeb recognised Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's authority over Karnataka. As a result of this recognition Mysore rose to prominence as an independent kingdom south of the river Krishna having diplomatic relations with the imperial Mughals the strongest power in India. The enhanced reputation of his having been honoured by the emperor himself, made him great in the eyes of his subjects. His rule became one of the most illustrious and memorable in the annals of Mysore.

Mysore Ikkeri relations - Last Phase:

At Ikkeri Channammaji died in July 1697 and was succeeded by her adopted son Hiriya Basappa Nayaka (1697-1714). Basappa was too envious of Mysore, and wanted to retrieve the losses suffered by Channammaji in the war of 1695. He despatched an army under his general *Garjina* Basappadevaru against Mysore in order to curb the growing power of Chikkadevaraja.[141] During this campaign the Ikkeri army possibly attempted to recapture the town of Arkalagud, but was repulsed by Mysore. When further resistance was not possible, Ikkeri sued for peace by executing a deed of promise *(Bhasha patra).* According to this deed, Ikkeri agreed to cease the hostilities with Mysore and restore peace in this region. In return, Mysore agreed to give back to Basappa Nayaka vastare which originally belonged to Ikkeri. From 1700 to 1704 Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was at the height of his power. He had suppressed all his rivals for power in Karnataka and spent peacefully this part of his rule.

After a reign of 31 years, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar died in 1704 full of honour, fame and glory, He was the most famous of the Rajas of Mysore. He was a lover of well ordered government and a good constitution builder. His love for orderly government is best illustrated in the administrative reforms that he introduced and in his reorganising the administrative machinery into eighteen departments. The Hindustani name for this office, namely *Athara Kacheri* has become a coloquial word in Kannada. The public offices in Bangalore are even today called *Athara Kacheri* by the public. He tapped every resource of his kingdom and systematised the collection of land revenue. he re-organised the military administration and introduced for the first time, the postal and intelligence departments in Mysore. He was the first to introduce the local self government in Karnataka. By his various reforms he established peace in the kingdom.

He was a great hero and a general. By his extensive conquests he enlarged the territorial limits of his kingdom. During his period the kingdom of Mysore extended upto its natural limits. As a result, he came to be called the *maker of modern Mysore.* By his military prowess he vanquished the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda, killed the invincible Maratha leaders Dadaji, jaitaji and Nimbaji, defeated Shivaji, drowned Sombhaji in mortal dread and cut the nose and limbs of his chief Minister Yashavanta Rao, put down the warrior races - the *Tigulas, Kodagas* and the *Malayalis* who invaded Karnataka united with the Marathas. By these heroic achievements he safeguarded the frontiers of his kingdom and came to be called *Apratima Vira* (in-imitable conqueror) and *Narapati* (ruler of mankind).

He was not merely a conqueror but also a great patron of art and literature. in his court flourished some of the most famous poets of the period like Tirumalarya, Shadaksharadeva, Chikkupadhyaya and others who wrote standard works in Kannada thereby contributing to the richness and greatness of this language. Chikkadevaraja was himself a gifted scholar and is the author of several works in Kannada language. He was also an accomplished musician. In his court flourished music, poetry, dance and drama. The versatality of his genious was impressed upon all departments of the government. By his uncommon diplomacy and tact he built up a strong kingdom, organised an efficient form of government and won fame as a great ruler.

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3. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, 56.

4. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, i, p. 58; ii, p. 56; *Kudzan*, p. 210.

5. *A.V.C.*, iii, 58, *Sri Rang. Mah.*, p. 2. *Hsti. Mah.* p. 10.

6. *Ibid.*, iii, 63; *Gi. Go.*, p. 56; *(Pandya senadhipati Sangara Kirita Venkata Krishna sibira Sarvasvaharana). Kamanda, Ni.*, p. 4; *Hast. Maha.*, p. 10; *(Tatkari Varivraja Mukhya Vastuchayamam Kondu).* Yad. Mah., 3. p. 29; *EC.*, IV, Ch. 11 (1675); Ibid., iii (Old edition), Sr. 151, 1679; C.Bi., p. 78; *Kam. Mah.*, p. 21.

7. *Maddagiri Charitre*, pp. 38-39.

8. *EC.*, IV, Ch. 11; My. 99; Ibid., III (Old edition), Sr. 151 and so on.

9. *Ke. N.V.*, 1i, p. 133, *Vs.*, 8, 9, 10.

10. Muddachari, *Mys. Ma. Rel.*, p. 69

11. *EC.*, IV, Ch. 11, *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 31; *Annals*, 1, p. 105; *C. Bi.*, p. 79; *Gi. Go.*, p.39; *Kam.* Ni., p. 4; *Kam. Mah.*, p. 22; *Hasti Mah.*, p. 10; H.V.Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 281; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 70; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 229.

12. Chikkupadhyaya, *Kam. Mah.*, p. 10. After the conquest of Chikkanayakanahalli by Ranadullah Khan in 1640 Adil Shah made this his military headquarters in Karnataka and stationed a military governor in this place with many military officers under him in several important places in this region like Honnavalli, Chelur, Bommasamudra and so forth.

13. *EC.*, IV, Ch. 11, L. 30-32; Ibid., III (Old edition), Sr. 151; *Yad. Mah.*, p. 29; *Sriranga Mah.*, p. 27; *Hasti Mah.*, p. 10; *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 31; *Annals*, 1, p. 105.

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22. *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 380-383.

23. *Early Records*, p. 73 quoted in the *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 175. Sarkar also quoting the Chitnis writes that Shivaji went upto Srirangapatna on his way back from the Carnatic *(Shivaji*, p. 400); Shervani and P.M. Joshi, (Ed.) *Hist. of Med. Dec.*, 1, p. 389.

24. *A.V.C.*, 1.30.

25. *Early Records*, p. 73; *Historical Fragments* Note XLVIII, p. 234.

26. C.Bi., p. 4; *Uttaradeshadol Udvritta Charitran enisiaravattu sasiram varuvangalum lakkadenikeyur Kalgalum berasu nadedu Dhilliya nadanitumam Kolleyolam Kalla Kalagadolam Jallugeydu Vijayapuradarasanam Jayisi avara nadu bidugalam kondu Golakondeyavanam bandu geydu, avanitta Kappamanoppugondu.*

27. *A.V.C.*, iii, 28.

28. *Diary and Consultation Book* 1678-1679, p. 153.

29. *A.V.C.*, ii, 28.

30. *C.Bi., p. 4, ... a Sokkim galkane Kannada nadam pokka Shivajiyan ajirangadoloje gedisi; Gi, Go.,* pp. 205-206, prose passage, *Chi. Sap.* 1-5-3.

31. *EC.*, VI, pp. 99. iii, l. 71 to 74; (V, My. 99 IX, l. 437 also mentions in a summary fashion the name of Shivaji along with other Maratha generals defeated by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar).

32. Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 109; Subba Rao, *Q.J.M.S.*, XXIII, pp. 27-32; H.V. Rao, *Hist.*, 1, pp. 283-285; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, pp. 80-82; Sethu Madhava Rao pagadi, *Chatrapati Shivaji*, p. 290.

33. *La Mission Du Madure, op.cit.*, p. 249.

34. *Mys. Do. Pur.* ii, 33; *Hasti. Mah.* 1, p. 10; *A.V.C.*, iii, *Vs.* 8.82 (Gloss); *C.Bi.*, p. 78; Gi.Go., p. 39; *Annals*, 1, p. 106.

35. *Hasti Mah.*, op. cit., *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 294; *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682, p. 23.

36. *La Mission Du Madure, op.cit.*, iii, p. 272.

37. *M.C.*, p. 39; Supra. p. 82.

38. *M.C.*, p. 40. According to this authority it was *dalvoy* Devarajaiya who led the Mysore army to Maddagiri on this occasion. But, this observation is not in keeping with the other more acceptable sources. We know from the *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara* (1. p. 69) that Kumaraiya was the *dalvoy* of the Mysore army from the accession of Chikkadevaraja upto 1682. This is confirmed by the *Kalale Arasugala Vamsavali* (p. 18) and the Mysore Place Records *(Annals*, 1, p. 115).

39. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 53; *Annals*, 1, p. 106.

40. M.C., pp. 41-42; *C.Bi., p.* 59; *Kamala. Maha.*, p. 23; *Hasti. Maha.*, p. 10; *Gi. Go.*, p. 39; *Sriranga Maha.*, p. 26; *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, 34; *Annals*, 1, p. 106; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 225; H.V. Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 288; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 85. The literary evidence is corroborated by epigraphical evidence also. This event is found mentioned in one of Chikkadevaraja's inscriptions belonging to 1679; *EC.*, III (Old edition), Sr. 151.

41. *A.V.C.*, iii, 95, 191, 123 (Gloss.) 166, 172, IV, 2; *E.C.*, VI, Sr. 24, L. 69-70; *C.Bi.*, op. cit.

42. *Mys. Do Pur.*, ii, p. 36; *Annals*, 1, p. 106; *A.V.C.*, iii, 9, 101, 123 (Gloss.) 166, 172, IV. 2; *C.Bi.*, Intr. p. 17; H.V. Rao, *Hist.*, 1, pp. 228-229 (f.n. 63); Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, pp. 85-86.

43. *Maratha rule in South Karnataka, Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. LXV, No. 1, p. 31.

44. *EC.*, VI, Sr. 24; ll. 69-70.

45. *List of villages*, 3; Muddachari *(Mys. Maratha. Rel.*, p. 85 and H.V.Rao *Hist.*, 1, p. 288; F.n. 63) also identify Housur with the extant village of the same name near Sira. *EC.*, VI, Sr. 24, *op.cit.*, *C.Bi.*, *op. cit.*

46. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, 36; *Annals*, 1, p. 106; EC., III (Old edition), Sr. 151; *Maddagiri Midigesim Bijjavaram Chinnaraya durgamcha; Kamala. Maha.*, p. 23; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 28; *Hasti. Maha.*, p. 10.

47. *M.C.*, p. 42.

48. *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. V, p. 507.

49. *M.C.*, pp. 42-43; *M.A.R.*, 1935, pp. 134-135; Maddagiri 47 and 117.

50. *M.C.*, p. 42.

51. *Ke. N. V.*, pp. 134-135.

52. *A.V.C.*, iii, 97; with gloss; Sac. Nir., 1, 59.

53. Ibid.; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 92; H.V.Rao, *Hist.*, 1, pp. 293-294.

54. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 287.

55. *Annals*, 1, p. 113.

56. Ibid.

57. *C. Vi.*, pp. 113, 114; *Vs.* 81, 82, 89, p. 115; V. 91, p. 116, *Vs.* 95, 96. Supra pp. 73-75.

58. *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1682, p. 23; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, pp. 92, 93; H.V.Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 292, f.n. 75.

59. *Ibid.*, 1682, p. 23. Letter of 8 March, 1682.

60. Ibid.

61. *Hist.*, 1, pp. 114-15.

62. *Muddachari, Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 93.

63. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 287.

64. *Annals*, 1, pp. 114-115.

65. *Ibid., Mys. Raj. Cha.*, p. 29; *C. Bi.*, Intr. p. 17 and 19. A.V.C, 1.22.23, ii. 19-20; iii. 59, 86 133; iv. 8 with gloss. 11; *Gi. Go.* p. 56. These exploits of Chikkadevaraja are also found mentioned in Several inscriptions of the period. Some of these epigraphs are *E.C.* VI, Sr. 24; ii, II. 65-67; 69-70, *Ibid.*, pp. 99; II. 75-76; *Ibid.*, V, Mys. 99, X. L. 436-438 and so on.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

67. *Sakala Vaidya Samihita Sararnava*, p.4. *Karnatadesham Vijayalakshmi Nataka pradesha Venisida. Annls*, 1, p. 115; M.A.R., 1942, pp. 90-91; Sarkar, *Aurangazeb*, IV, p. 256; A.V.C., III, V, 136.

68. *Sangita Gangadhara*, pp. 9-10.

69. *La Mission Du Madure, op.cit.*, iii, pp. 304-305.

70. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 288; *Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 27.

71. *La Mission Du Madure, op.cit.*, pp. 305-306.

72. *Sambhaji Kalina patra Sara Sangraha*, p. 59, letter No. 181.

73. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 100.

74. *A.V.C.*, iii, p. 21.

75. *La Mission Du Madure, op.cit.*, pp. 306-307.

76. A.V.C., III, 21; *Idiranta Sambu Basavara Madavilisidanandu Banupuradolupendra.*

77. *EC.*, VI Sr. 24 (1686), 11. 67-69; *Ibid.*, V, My. 99, II. 88-90; 94-95, 437-438; *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 99 (1722), II. 74-75 and so on.

78. *C.Bin.*, p. 1, V. 5; p. 4; *Gi. Go.*, pp. 39 and 70.

79. *EC.*, VI, Sr. 24, II. 67, 69; Ibid., V, My. 99, I. 90.

80. *H.N.M.*, p. 290; Sarkar, *Aurangazeb*, IV, pp. 300-303.

81. *H.N.M.*, pp. 290-291.

82. *C.Bi.*, Intr. p. 19: *Matte Sambajige Kappavanu Kottu Kutavanu Kalisi.*

83. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 292.

84. *Ibid.*

85. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 105.

86. *C. Bi.*, p. 4.

87. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 106.

88. *C. Bi.*, p. 4.

89. Edward Scott Waring, *History of the Marathas*, p. 117.

90. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, pp. 36-37; *Annals*, 1, p. 107.

91. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 36; *Annals*, 1, p. 107.

92. *Aurangazeb*, V, pp. 54-56.

93. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, op. cit.

94. H.V.Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 305; Shama Rao, *Mod. Mys.*, p. 7.

95. Op. cit.

96. *Hist.*, 1, p. 111.

97. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, pp. 36-37; *Annals*, 1, p. 107.

98. C.Bi., p. 4: *Mattama Maratharatopamam nambi mumbaridu edobaladolinisinisum ponarda Morasa Tigula Kodaga Maleyala nada manneyaram bannam badisi.*

99. Ibid.

100. A.V.C., iii, V. 139. *Chikkadevarayanam Kenakidudarim tam idesadoliradantaytu.*

101. *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, 11, 38; *Annals*, 1, 110; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 110.

102. *Annals*, op. cit.

103. *Sambhaji Kalina patra*, p. 118; *Jedhe Sakavali* in *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 30.

104. *Aurangazeb*, V, pp. 55-56.

105. Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 112.

106. *Hist.*, 1, p. 111.

107. *Ibid.*

108. Ibid., 110, 111; grant Duff., *History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 350.

109. *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 111.

110. *A note on the Faujdars of Bijapur Karnataka Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 2, p. 204.

111. *Mughals in Karnataka* a talk delivered at the Mythic Society, Bangalore in June, 1985.

112. Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, p. 142; *Marathi Riyasat*, part ii, p. 91; Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 350.

113. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 201.

114. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 38; *Annals*, 1, p. 107.

115. *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 38-52; *Gi. Go.*, p. 39.

116. *C.Bi.*, p. 78; *Gi. Go.*, op. cit.

117. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, 42; *Annals*, 1, p. 108; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 112; 226-227; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 117.

118. *E.C.*, IX (Old edition), Db. 31.

119. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 335.

120. H.V.Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 310.

121. *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 122.

122. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii. p. 43, *Annals*, 1, p. 108, Wilks. *op.cit.*, H.V.Rao., *Hist.* 1, 311. *Mys. Mar. Rel.* p. 122.

123. Ibid.

124. *Ke. N.V.*, IX, p. 167; *Vs.* 91-93; *A.V.C.*, iii, 140.

125. *A.V.C.*, III, V. 143; IV, V. 9 (with gloss.)

126. Ibid., 11, V. 21.

127. Ibid., 111., 33.48, 80, 92, 96, 146, 147, 177; iii, 114 (with gloss.); iv. 9 (with gloss.); *Mys. Do. Pur.*, II, 46-47; *Annals*, 1, 108; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 112, 129.

128. *Ibid.*; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 129. *Ke.N.V.*, X, p. 167; *Vs.* 91-93.

129. Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 112; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, pp. 126-127.

130. Sethumadhava Rao Pagadi, op. cit.

131. *Poligars of Chitradurga*, p. 41; *Masir-i- Alamgiri* in Sarkar's *Aurangazeb*, Vol. V, p. 112; *Chitraduraga dist. Gaz.*, p. 396; *Chitradurga Kaipidi*, p. 50; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 117, f.n.; H.V. Rao, *Hist.*, 1, p. 312; Shama Rao, *History of Modern Mysore*, pp. 21-22; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 127.

132. Ibid.

133. *Records of Fort St. George*, 1696, p. 29, No. 34; *Diary and Consultation Book*, 1696. p. 42.

134. *Hist.*, 1, p. 116, f.n.; Muddachari, *Mys. Mar. Rel.*, p. 128.

135. *Mys. Do. Pur.*, ii, p. 48; *Annals*, 1, p. 109.

136. Wilks, op. cit.; *Records of Fort St. George*, 1696, p. 166.

137. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 39.

138. *A.V.C.*, III, 52, 69, 150, 151, 184; IV, 18, 20 and so on.

139. *Annals*, 1, 142.

140. *Hist.*, 1, pp. 117-118.

141. *Ke. N.V.*, X, 174; *Vs.* 7 and 10. Linganna's account of the victories won by Ikkeri during this campaign is not corroborated by any other evidence and appears to be a mere boast.

CHAPTER V

DECLINE AND DOWNWARD TRENDS - 1704-1748

The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed a contest for supremacy over South India between the Marathas and the Mughals. Mysore, which took an active part in Karnataka politics in the seventeenth century, lost much of its importance after the death of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and was a mere passive observer of this drama of power politics in South India early in the eighteenth century. The early eighteenth century synchronised with the disintegration of the Mughal empire and the rise of the Marathas as a strong power in India. The Maratha kingdom was a small one in the seventeenth century. But by the middle of the eighteenth century it grew up into a powerful empire which extended its influence up to the river Indus in the north and included many parts of peninsular India. During this period the Marathas became so dominant in Indian politics that they even acted as the arbitrators of the Mughal empire. But, Mysore which resisted the Maratha advance in Karnataka so successfully under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, could not rise to so much prominence. This is mostly due to the fact that the successors of Chikkadevaraja were weak rulers and the dalvoys who were the *defacto* rulers in Mysore during this period were not so dynamic and enterprising as the Peshwas at Poona. The Peshwas were patriotic and strove hard to extend the limits of their kingdom and to secure it a place of honour in Indian politics. But, the dalvoys in Mysore were not such able soldiers who could rise to national ranks. These dalvoys were selfish officers and were bent upon consolidating their own position in the kingdom by snatching all royal powers.

This weakened position of Mysore gave an opportunity to the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad to extend their sphere of influence in this region. The Nizam claimed his right over entire South India including Mysore as the lawful heir to the imperial possessions in this region. Similarly, the Marathas also had an eye on Mysore. They considered Mysore as their "sacred patrimony" ever since Shahji acquired Bangalore as his *Jagir.* Having lost many of their settlements in Mysore during Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's reign, the Marathas now wanted to use Mysore as the source for financing their campaigns in the north. Mysore was thus subjected to periodic invasions by these two powers in the name of *chauth* and *sardesmukhi.*

The period was characterised by a rivalry for power between the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The overlordship concept started hanging between these two powers. The weakness of Mysore was fully exploited by these parties who used to make frequent raids on Mysore in their greed for territory or money. The dalvoys who wielded power in Mysore during this period, were unable to resist these foreign attacks. In fact, the very office of the dalvoy seems to have been a curse to the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. For, most of these dalvoys were unfaithful to their masters. They did not attach much importance for the larger interest of the kingdom and proved so unworthy that they ultimately brought about the downfall of the dynasty. It is interesting to note that the history of Mysore begins with the faithless story of dalvoy Mara Nayaka and its glory ends when dalvoy Devarajaiya deposed Chamaraja Wodeyar and took all power into his hands after imprisoning the Raja in 1734. The period witnessed the rise of these dalvoys to power and the decline of royal power in Mysore. So long as the king was strong, the dalvoy had no voice in the politics of the kingdom. But, when the central authority weakened the dalvoy usurped all the powers of the king and brought him completely under his control. The enghteenth century was century of trouble and turmoil in India as else where. It was an era of unurpers and king makers in India. The period witnessed the "divorce of the *defacto* power from dejure". This is seen in Delhi and Poona and we notice the same trends in Mysore as well.[1]

The death of Chikkadevaraj marks the beginning of the decline of the prosperity of the Wodeyar dynasty. The successors of Chikkadevaraj were generally incompetent to manage the affairs of the kingdom. These rulers were either too weak or too young to hold the reins of government. Chikkadevaraj and his predecessors were strong enough to keep the dalvoys under control. But, on the death of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar conditions soon changed. The selfish dalvoys began to aggrandise power and the king became a mere tool in their hands. In less than half a century from the death of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar the dalvoys became all powerful and took the complete authority of the kingdom into their own hands. As a result, the king receded to back ground and the dalvoy became the *defacto* ruler of the kingdom. Henceforth the dalvoys became such dominating figures in the kingdom that the history of Mysore during this period is nothing but a history of the dalvoys themselves. This period may therefore be regarded as the 'Dalvoy period' in Mysore history.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was succeeded by his son Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II on 30 November 1704. Kanthirava II was born deaf and dumb. The dalvoys of the period took advantage of this physical disability of the Raja and slowly started squeezing the royal power in order to consolidate their position and authority. Most of the dalvoys of this king were members of the Kalale family and were also close relatives of the king. The first dalvoy of this king was Dasarajaiya of Devarayanadurga who held office till 1705. His successors were all from the Kalale family. Dasarajaiya was succeeded by Basavarajaiya, grandson of Muppina Kantaiya of Kalale. He held office till 1709 when he was succeeded by his son Nanjarajaiya II. Nanjarajaiya held office till 1714 when he was succeeded by Virarajaiya (son of Doddaiya).[2]

During this period the daughter of the dalvoy was usually given in marriage to the ruling king. Henceforth the office of the dalvoy became hereditary. These conditions, namely, blood relationship between the king and the dalvoy and the hereditary right of the office of the dalvoy were some of the important factors for the dalvoys to come to power.

Let us now briefly examine the political conditions in the south when Kanthirava II ascended the throne. For, this study enables us to have an idea of the position of Mysore in South Indian politics in the beginning of the eighteenth century. On the death of Aurangazeb in 1707 the supremacy of the Mughals declined owing to the incompetence of his successors. Enemies rose up on every side of the empire. The imperial deputies in southern India made themselves independent. Important among them was Kamar-ud-din Chinqilich Khan. He was previously the *Subadar* of Audh and was appointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1703 under the title Nizam-ul- Mulk with nominal control over all royal possessions in southern India.

The chief next in importance, was the Nawab of Arcot. After subjugating Bijapur and Golkonda Aurangazeb sent his army under Zulfikar Khan to reduce the fortress of Jinji, where Rajaram, the Maratha prince, had taken shelter. This place was carried by assault in 1698. But, as it proved unhealthy, the seat of government was shifted to Arcot in 1716 and was placed in the hands of Zulfikar Khan. He was later succeeded by Daud Khan. But, as this chief was summoned to Delhi to aid the party which ultimately put Shah-Alam on the throne he left behind Muhammad Said also called Sadatullah-Khan, as his substitute. Sadat ullah Khan was eventually recognised as the Nawab of Carnatic by Nizam- ul-mulk in 1713 with Amin Khan the *subadar* of Sira under him. Sadat ullah Khan became more of less an independent ruler of the Carnatic exercising imperial authority over the southern provinces of the Mughal empire. At Madura, Mangammal (1689-1706) and Vijayaraghava Chokkanatha (1706-1732) were the contemporaries of Kanthirava while Shahji II (1687-1711) and Sarfoji (1712-1727) ruled at Tanjore. At Ikkeri Hiriya Basappa Nayaka I ruled from 1697 to 1714 pursuing a policy of hostility towards Mysore.

Let us now review the history of Mysore in this background. Chikkadevaraj ruled the kingdom with much vigor. But, on the death of this Raja the vigor and vitality of the kingdom declined. The succession of a ruler who could neither hear nor speak wrecked the structure of administration. Neither the Raja nor the dalvoys possessed the ability and the tact to save the kingdom from external threats. Chikkadevaraj was wise enough to gain the help and friendship of the Mughal emperor and to save the independence of his kingdom. But Kanthirava II lacked this diplomacy and farsight.

Aurangazeb's invasion of Mysore:

In 1705 Aurangazeb planned an invasion of Mysore. The main cause of this invasion was Kanthirava's physical disabilities. Being dumb and deaf, he never linked a war and always loved to live in peace. He was an "enemy" of war.[3] Secondly it was the greed of Aurangazeb to capture the wealth of Mysore that tempted him to plan this expedition.[4] Aurangazeb sent his army under Daud-Khan. Kanthirava II was unable to face the imperial forces. He therefore found it expedient to treat with Aurangazeb offering to pay him fifteen millions of rupees and five elephants promising in addition, to double his annual tribute on condition that he was not interfered with.[5]

By this submission Mysore lost its independence and became a tributary of the Mughal. Prior to this, Mysore was not paying tribute to any higher power. It was an independent kingdom. This cool submission exposed the weakness of Mysore and opened its gates for further inroads in this region by the foreign powers.

Conquest of Chikkaballapur by Mysore:

The only noteworthy achievement of the reign of Kanthirava II was the defeat of Chikkabaiche Gowda and the annexation of Chikkaballapur to Mysore. There were certain important factors that forced Mysore to declare war on Chikkaballapur. Primarily it was the Raja's ambition for territory and lust for wealth. After the death of Chikkadevaraj we see some marked changes in the political developments in Mysore. Mysore became a hunting ground for the Marathas and the Mughals for collection of contribution. These foreign powers frequently conducted raids in Mysore for wealth. In turn, Mysore would conduct similar raids on the smaller principalities in this region to compensate this loss. Secondly after the death of Chikkadevaraj, Mysore concentrated very much on the reduction of the principalities in *Morasunad* which acted as the gateway to the Carnatic region. This is because Carnatic became the centre of political activities in this area during this period. The Marathas and the Nizam entered this region. At that time Kolar and parts of Bangalore were ruled by some local poligars. This area was known as *Morasunad*. And these chiefs were known as *Morasu chiefs* after the land ruled over by them. Some of these chiefs were Dodda Range Gowda of Kolar, Chikka Baiche Gowda of Chikkaballapur, Kempe Gowda of Magadi and so on. They had no friendly relations with Mysore. But, they were good allies of the Marathas. The Marathas had lost to Mysore many of their settlements in *Morasunad* area during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. But still with the help of the local *Morasu* chiefs who were hostile to Mysore they tried to re-establish their authority in this area. But, Mysore wanted to reduce the *Morasu* poligars and put an end to the Maratha influence in this region.

Both Mysore and the Marathas aspired for mastery over the *Morasunad* area. Mysore wanted to occupy this area to put an end to the Maratha influence in this part. Secondly, this region would clear the way for Mysore to march towards the Carnatic region. The Marathas wanted to establish their authority here because they wanted to make this a base to fight the Mughals in the Carnatic. Mysore wanted to uproot all the poligars in the *Morasunad* area one by one and thus curb the Maratha influence in this region. The Mysore army led by Dalvoy Nanjarajaiya II invested the fort of Chikkaballapur. The Gowda was too weak to face the attack and capitulated in December 1710 by agreeing to pay annual tribute to Mysore. The Mysore army marched further and acquired Doddaballapur, Midigeshi and some other dependencies of Chikkaballapur between January and April 1711.[6]

The effect of the acquisition of Chikkaballapur was that for the first time Mysore extended its sphere of influence in *Morasunad* area. Secondly, the acquisition of Doddaballapur in particular was of some significance. Doddaballapur was wrested by Khasim Khan from the Marathas in 1691. Since then the Mughals had held this place. After the death of Aurangazeb many of his deputies in the south revolted. Mysore took advantage of these disturbed political conditions and acquired some of the principal centres of the Mughals in this region so as to strengthen its position in *Morasunad*. Thirdly, these conquests dealt a strong blow to the Marathas in this region. Fourthly, the tribute paid by these chiefs improved the financial position of Mysore and compensated to some extent the tribute paid by Mysore to Aurangazeb in the war of 1705. But these acquisitions could not retrieve the loss suffered by Mysore in 1705. For, in the war of 1705 Mysore submitted to Aurangazeb and became a tributary of the Mughals. Since then it was reduced to a second rate power in south Indian politics and these conquests of 1711 which were purely local acquisitions could not improve the image of Mysore in the South Indian political scene.

Thus, apart from surrendering his power to an outsider, Kanthirava II could achieve nothing very great in his reign. "In this reign alone the reins of government slipped perceptibly out of the hands of the sovereign into the hands of the dalways".[7] "Having reigned rather than ruled" for nine years Kanthirava II passed away in February 1714 leaving the succession to his son Krishnaraja Wodeyar I.[8] The accession of Krishnaraja Wodeyar marks another milestone, in the ascendancy of the dalvoys. For, Krishnaraja was a boy of 12 years at the time of his accession to the throne.

Sadat Ullah Khan's invasion of Mysore:

Now, adverting to the affairs of the Deccan, we find that shortly after his appointment as the viceroy in 1713, Kamar-ud-din divided his province into a number of subdivisions. Carnatic Bijapur which was one of these provinces was placed under Amin Khan with its headquarters at Sira. Similarly the Carnatic Hyderabad Balaghat was subdivided into three provinces namely Savanur, Cuddapah and Kurnool. Each of these divisions was put under a Pathan chief designated 'Nawab'. All these Nawabs were directly responsible for the Nizam. The authority of Sadat Ullah Khan was now confined only to the Nawabship of Arcot. According to the new arrangement the right of the Mughal to collect the levy from Mysore was transferred from Sadat Ullah Khan, Nawab of Arcot, to Amin Khan the Nawab of Sira. Sadat-Ullah "aware of the riches possessed by the Raja of Mysore and jealous of the dismemberment of his own command, entered into a secret combination with the Pathan Nawabs and Siddoji Ghorpade, the Maratha chief of Gooti, to wrest the rich prey from Amin-Khan of Sira to whom the tribute or plunder of Mysore, according to the distribution of their respective commands, regularly belonged".[9] Amin Khan came to know the designs of the Nawab of Arcot and sought the assistance of Mysore against Sadat Ullah Khan. Amin Khan's treaty with Mysore enraged the Nizam. The Nizam therefore determined to punish this chief.

The Nizam entered into an agreement with Somasekhara Nayaka of Ikkeri, the Pathan Nawabs, and Murari Rao of Gooti and marched on Sira. The combined army defeated the Mysore army that came to the assistance of Amin Khan at Kandikere and Chikkanayakanahalli and laid diege to Sira and defeated Amin Khan in June 1724.[10] He was removed from the command of the province of Sira and Tahir Khan was declared as the Nawab.

Thus, Sadat Ullah got the active support of the Nizam. Now at the head of the combined army of the Nawab of Sira, the Pathan Nawabs, and Murari Rao of Gooti, Sadat-Ullah marched on Mysore. Two causes, brought about this compaign. First, the Nawab wanted to punish

Mysore for joining Amin Khan of Sira. Secondly, it was the prospect of gold that tempted him to declare war on Mysore. The Mughal army invested the fort of Srirangapatna. The Mysore army alone could not face such a big union of powers. Being unable to face the Mughal army, Mysore compounded the war by paying a sum of one crore rupees to Sadat Ullah Khan.[11]

Thus, by allying herself with Amin Khan, Mysore invited the wrath of the Nizam. Amin Khan who was an ally of Mysore was removed and instead Tahir Khan was placed in charge of Sira. Tahir Khan was an enemy of Mysore. He was very much interested in the wealth possessed by Mysore and was waiting for some cause or other for making plundering raids on Mysore in his zeal to acquire wealth. Thus, Mysore was forced to live by the side of a hostile neighbour. Secondly, the heavy contribution paid by Mysore to Sadat Ullah Khan in this war drained away its resources to a grea extent. The dalvoys were unable to control these foreign inroads. The heavy contribution paid by Mysore in all these wars to cease the hostilities offered temptation to the outsiders to make more plundering raids in Mysore. These raids disturbed peace and created conditions of insecurity in the land. Finally, by these reverses Mysore lost much of the prestige which it enjoyed in the earlier period and was reduced to the position of a mere tax- payer.

The Maratha invasion of Mysore:

Shortly after Sadat Ullah Khan returned from Mysore, Mysore had again to face a Maratha invasion in 1726. The weak administration in Mysore and the wealth it possessed were the causes of these successive raids. "The success of the predatory expedition of 1724 was but an invitation to other free booters."[12] In 1726 Peshwa Baji Rao I appeared before Srirangapatna alonhg with one of his generals Fatch Singh Bhonsle. As usual, Mysore had to send back the invader after paying a cash contribution of 21 lakh rupees.[13]

These wars reflect the unsettled condition in the kingdom and the incapability of the ruler to resist these attacks. These in-secure conditions and the in-efficiency of the government slowly prepared the ground for the eventual fall of the central administration and the rise of the dalvoys to power.

Conquest of Magadi by Mysore:

In the midst of these disturbing foreign attacks, Mysore could make a significant achievement during this reign. That is, the invasion of Magadi. The cause of the compaign was primarily to replenish the treasury which was drained by the wars of 1724 and 1726. Secondly, Mysore wanted to make its way clear towards the Kolar region. Mysore had already started the wars of expansion in this region and had acquired Chikkaballapur in 1710. Magadi was an obstacle in the Mysorean advance in the direction of Kolar. Devarajaiya, the dalvoy of the Mysore army was bent on subjugating Kempe Gowda. For, this conquest would facilitate his march in the direction of Kolar. Kempa Virappa Gowda III the chief of Magadi was a *Morasu* chief. His defeat would break the *Morasu* power to a great extent. Dalvoy Devarajaiya therefore planned an invasion of Magadi. The Mysore army invested the fort of Magadi in 1728. The fort was too weak to stand a siege. It fell quickly along with Savanadurga (Savandi).[14] The Gowda was taken captive and put in the prison at Srirangapatna where he died shortly after.

With the fall of Magadi the whole of the territory of Kempe Gowda came under the rule of Mysore. Mysore got in the fort of Savanadurga a hidden treasure of 200 years.[15] This wealth freed Mysore to some extent from the economic crisis which it was facing. Mysore was now free to move towards *Morasunad* and complete the conquest of the remaining *Morasu* chieftancies in this region.

Conquest of Magadi and its dependencies could not improve the political position of Mysore. For, it was only a local acquisition and Mysore remained a feudatory of the Nizam who was a representative of Mughal emperor. Inspite of these conquests, the weakness of Mysore to defend itself against foreign invaders was proved beyond a doubt by the two invasions of 1724 and 1726. This discovery led to a great deal of foreign complications which facilitated the upward course, first of the dalvoy brothers and secondly of Haidar Ali.[16] But, the conquest of Magadi boosted the image of dalvoy Devarajaiya. Here after we see him coming to more and more prominence in the kingdom.

In the administration dalvoy Devarajaiya was associated with his cousin Nanjarajaiya son of Basavarajaiya. Nanjarajaiya was the *Sarvadhikari* while Devaraja was the dalvoy. As Sarvadhikari Nanjarajaiya was in charge of internal administration while Devaraja was in charge of the foreign affairs. These officers together exercised high powers in the administration of the kingdom. They wielded much influence in the palace also. The daughter of Devarajaiya was the queen consort. This was the general feature since the time of Kanthirava II. Tht is the daughter of the dalvoy would usually be the wife of the ruling king. This relationship with the ruling king was an ideal condition for the dalvoys to squeeze power. Devarajaiya put the young king amidst all luxuries and sports. The king forgot the responsibilities of the kingdom and completely left the administration in the hands of the dalvoy.

CHAMARAJA WODEYAR VI - 1732-1734

After a reign of 17 years, Krishnaraja Wodeyar I died in 1732 leaving no male children.[17] Before his death, Krishnaraj had expressed his desire to adopt one of his kinsmen named Chamaiya - also called Chamaraja son of Devaraja Urs of Ankanahalli.[18] It is not unlikely that dalvoy Devarajaiya had a hand in the selection of this person. For, "nearer claimant to the throne than Chamaraja was then in existence, but it is perfectly certain that he was nominated as a person supposed to be every way qualified for the office of pageant king to which he was destined".[19] On the death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar *Sarvadhikari Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya invited the newly selected king to the capital to undergo the ceremony of adoption before installation. But, the dalvoy brothers did not allow the new Raja to cross the river Kaveri at *Paschima Vahini.* Here they forcibly took an oath of allegiance from the king designate that he would abide by their injunctions in all matters of administration[20] Thus, dalvoy Devarajaiya cleverly managed to keep the new Raja under his obligation. After exacting this solemn oath from Chamaraja the dalvoy brothers brought the young Raja to the capital. Here he was adopted by Devajammanni and later installed on the throne of Mysore on 19 March 1732 as Chamaraja Wodeyar VI.[21] With the accession of Chamaraja to the throne, direct discent in the Mysore royal house in the line of Muppinadevaraja Wodeyar, came to an end.

Chamaraja was not the legal claimant to the throne. He vowed it exclusively to dalvoy Devarajaiya. The latter therefore began to exercise high powers in the kingdom keeping the new Raja in perpetual tutelage. The Palace Records give us a graphic account of the unfaithful acts of the dalvoys during the first nine months of the rule of Chamaraja Wodeyar. This period which was characterised by the ascendency of the dalvoy brothers was known for bribery and corruption. Most of the royal revenue was appropriated for their personal ends by these officers. They also filled all high posts in the government with men of their own choice.[22]

But Chamaraja soon began to realise his awkward situation. He could not reconcile himself to this humiliating position and determined to take all the authority of the kingdom into his won hands by keeping the dalvoys out of power. The Raja soon boldly removed dalvoy Devarajaiya and *Sarvadhikari* Nanjarajaiya and appointed in their places his own men namely Devaiya and Vira Setti respectively. He also appointed one Gopinathaiya as his *pradhan* and conducted efficiently the administration of the kingdom. In administration he was assisted by an advisory body consisting of four persons.[23] In his zeal to reform the administration chamaraj also undertook rigid economy measures and retrenched several old servants that surrounded the dowager queen and were actually looting the palace stores.

These measures of the king created much dissatisfaction in the palace. The affected persons secretly met the dowager queen. They narrated to her their grievances in a manner prejudicial to the Raja. There was a general discontentment in the capital. The three big men namely, *dalvoy* Devarajaiya *Sarvadhikari* Najnarajaiya and *Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya, who were already removed from service now joined the malcontents. They organised a plot to remove Chamaraja from power altogether. The caucus now became very strong. Devajamma was very credulous and believed them. The dowager queen was worked up on so as to side with them as against the Raja. She even gave full liberty to Devarajaiya to take any measures that he considered fit to undo the work of Chamaraja. Thus poisoning the queen's mind and securing her support, Devaraja secretly set upon certain abortive plans to depose Chamaraja in order to ensure his own predominance in the government. Devaraja had money and also the sympathy of the queen. One night he secretly went to some of the military officers. He bribed these officers and won over to his side about 2000 horsemen and 6000 foot soldiers along with many *jamedars.* He took them to his service and kept them in small batches at a distance of about three miles from the town unseen by the loyalists. He desired these soldiers to be in readiness for an emergency. On a Friday, according to the custom, the Mysore army had gone out for the regular practices at a distance of six or seven miles from the capital. Devaraja grasped the situation and alerted his soldiers. They soon joined together and blocked the main entrance of the fort from within so as to prevent the entry of the royal army into the fort. Devaraja next proceeded to the Palace with a handful of men. "In the first impulse of astonishment and surprise the unhappy Raja sent a humble message acknowledging his breach of compact and promising a better observance if his servant and conqueror would forget the past and accept the office of the dalvoy".[24] Devaraja would not be ensnared a second time. He had the bitter remembrance of his former credulity. He forced open the main gate of the palace took the king captive and sent him along with the queen to the state prison at Kabaladurga. Here Chamaraja soon died owing to the insalubrity of the climate of the place. The deportation of Chamaraja was followed by the imprisonment of the letter's councillors and his other officers.[25]

With the deportation and death of Chamaraja Devarajaiya came out in boiler relief in the Mysore politics. Henceforth the dalvoy in the Mysore court became the king maker. He usually selected to the throne boy kings with no promising features and who could only play the humiliating role of pageants. The dowager queen Devajamma was not wise enough to understand the real motive of the dalvoy. She believed him and left to him the entire management of the kingdom. In order to strengthen his position, the dalvoy selected to the throne an infant of seven years belonging to a more distant and an inferior family, ignoring the members of the main line.[26] It is this "mock succession to a faulty title" that characterised the succession to the throne of Mysore during the following years.[27]

KRISHNARAJA WODEYAR II - 1734-1766

The new king now placed on the throne was Krishnaraj II son of Chame Urs of Chikanahalli. The child was adopted by Devajamma at the suggestion of dalvoy Devarajaiya and was brought to Srirangapatna. His coronation was held on 15 June 1735.[28] With the new pageant on the throne dalvoy Devarajaiya began his administration with greater vigor. We hear of one more prominent person in the court during this period namely, Venkatapataiya of Kannambadi. He held the post of *pradhani* and assisted the dalvoy brothers in the general administration of the kingdom.[29] Even this person does not appear to have had any independent hand in the administration of the kingdom. For, Wilks writes that Venkatapataiya held the post only nominally on condition of being subservient to the will of *Sarvadhikari* Nanjarajaiya.[30] The dalvoy brothers controlled all the affairs of the kingdom and were practically masters in the capital. Besides power, they also amassed enormous wealth by means of corruption which was the order of the day.[31] Devaraja was now the central figure in Mysore politics. He kept the young king under his subjugation and over shadowed him in public. He issued grants in his own name, conducted foreign affairs and appointed the highest officers of the kingdom.[32]

The political fortunes of Mysore during the early eighteenth century were very much inter-related with the course of events in the Carnatic. It is therefore necessary that we should review the history of Mysore during this period in the general background of the political developments in the Carnatic. During this period Carnatic became the warring ground for the major powers in the south like the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad and so on. The kingdom of Madura in particular was the focal point of attraction. The weak rule of Minakshi and the internal dissensions prevailing in that kingdom offered much temptation to the contending parties to enter this area and try their luck for territorial acquisition in this region. A civil war broke out in Madura. Minakshi was unable to control the situation. She therefore appealed to Dost Khan and Nawab of Arcot for help. The Nawab soon sent his army under Chanda Sahib his son-in-law, ostensibly for the restoration of law and order in Madura but in reality to annex this province to Arcot. On the plea of restoring order in the land, Chanda Sahib captured Minakshi and usurped all her powers. Unable to bear this disgrace, Minakshi took poison and died. Her death signalised the extinction of the Nayak rule in Madura. Dost Khan appointed Chanda Sahib in charge of Trichinopoly and returned to Arcot. In this war Mysore assisted Minakshi against the Nawab of Arcot in order to obviate the designs of Dost Khan on Trichinopoly.[33]

The part played by Mysore in this war enraged Ali Dost Khan the Nawab of Arcot. The Nawab therefore determined to punish the Raja of Mysore for his interference in the internal affairs of the kingdom of Madura. Partly on this account and partly attracted by the riches of Mysore, Ali Dost Khan planned an invasion of Mysore.[34] In August 1736 he sent his army against Mysore under his generals Khasim Khan and Murad Khan. The Mughal army passed through Kolar, Chikkaballapur, Hosakote and Bangalore and encamped at the village Kailancha near Channapattana. A severe fight ensued here between the two armies. In this fight dalvoy Devarajaiya of Mysore defeated the Mughal army in January 1737 and forced the Nawab to go back.[35] This defeat was a great blow to the prestige of Dost Khan.

Shortly after he took charge of the administration of Trichinopoly, Chanda Sahib planned an invasion of Tanjore. When Pratap Singh the Nayak of Tanjore, heard about Chanda Sahib's design on Tanjore, he appealed to his master Sahu for help. As soon as this appeal reached Sahu he sent an army under Raghuji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh to the Carnatic for the relief of Tanjore.[36] The Maratha army started early in 1740. On his way Raghuji entered Mysore and invested the fort of Srirangapatna.[37] The main object in Raghuji's undertaking this expedition to Mysore was only plunder. In the meanwhile in Mysore *Sarvadhikari* Nanjarajaiya died in 1739 and in his place Devarajaiya appointed his own brother *Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya.[38] The authority of the kingdom was now concentrated in the hands of these two persons. Having appointed his own brother as *Sarvadhikari*, Devaraja could further strengthen his position in the kingdom. Dalvoy Devarajaiya never wanted to risk a war with the Marathas. He therefore made peace with Raghuji. Raghuji was at that time on his way to Trichinopoly to reduce Chanda Sahib. Devarajaiya wanted to use this opportunity for his own advantage. He also wanted to put an end to the authority of Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly. Devaraja made peace with Raghuji by agreeing to help him in his war with Chanda Sahib. He offered Raghuji fifty lakhs of Rupees and urged him to re-establish the ancient family of the Nayaks at Madura by removing Chanda Sahib.[39] The Raja of Mysore was anxious to get Chanda Sahib removed at Trichinopoly because Devarajaiya was possibly worried that Chanda Sahib would at any time move on Mysore and disturb peace in this region. It was also the desire of the Mysore Rajas from the time of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to acquire Trichinopoly to Mysore as it acted as the key to the Carnatic region, "under the pretext of restoring the Nayak rule in Trichinopoly the Mysore Raja had in view the incorporation of Trichinopoly in the kingdom of Mysore".[40] On concluding this treaty with Mysore the Maratha army marched on Trichinopoly and besieged the fort. A bloody battle was fought at this place. In this battle the Marathas defeated Chanda Sahib and captured him alive and took him to Satara as a prisoner. Trichinopoly fell to the Marathas who hoisted their banner in this place in March 1741.

The fall of Trichinopoly further complicated the matters in the Carnatic. Because, the Marathas could not satisfy Devarajaiya. They avoided his request to transfer Trichinopoly to Mysore as there were several aspirants for Trichinopoly at that time like the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore besides Devarajaiya. It was not easy for the Marathas to give Trichinopoly to any one of these claimants, as, such a move would satisfy only one party and disappoint the other claimants. This would lead to much discontentment and unrest in this area. Raghuji therefore avoided all the claimants and temporarily appointed Murari Rao Ghorpade as the Governor of Trichinopoly "Till the sou Raj should give further orders".[41]

The Nizam who was hither to busy in the affairs at Delhi, had just come to the Deccan. He was enraged to see the Maratha occupation of Trichinopoly and planned an invasion of the Carnatic to re- establish his authority in this region. Devarajaiya who had failed to take Trichinopoly with the help of Raghuji, now joined the Nizam to wrest this province from the Marathas. According to a letter of 27 January 1743 Devarajaiya was prepared to offer to the Nizam one crore of rupees if the latter would place the Raja of Mysore in charge of Trichinopoly.[42]

The Nizam was already contemplating an invasion of the Carnatic to curb the power of the Marathas in this region. Devarajaiya's treaty with him hastened his march. The Nizam proceeded towards Trichinopoly with his army in February 1743. Murari Rao was forced to submit. The Nizam wrested Trichinopoly from the Marathas in August 1743. Dalvoy Devarajaiya had now to pay one crore of rupees to the Nizam according to the agreement if Trichinopoly had to be ceded to Mysore. But the dalvoy could not pay this sum as the Mysore treasury was empty because of the heavy compensation of 50 lakhs of rupees paid by Mysore to Raghuji in 1740. The Nizam therefore placed Trichinopoly in the charge of *Nawab* Anwarp-ud-din of Arcot in October 1743 and returned to his capital. Devarajaiya was again disappointed because, his desire to take Trichinopoly was not fulfilled. Mysore only proved its incapability of taking Trichinopoly either by force or through tact and diplomacy. Dalvoy Devarajaiya had to waste enormous amount on this issue without accomplishing anything. If Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar formerly tried to take Trichinopoly to Mysore by his valor, Devarajaiya attempted to acquire this province by paying heavy sum as contributions and price to the Marathas and the Nizam. But he was unsuccessful in his endeavor.

The loss of Trichinopoly was a great blow to the Maratha power in the Carnatic. Balaji Baji Rao the Peshwa wanted to retrieve this loss. He therefore sent an army under Babu

Nayak a Maratha *Sardar* to the Carnatic in order to wrest Trichinopoly back from the Nizam. Trichinopoly thus became a bone of contention between the Marathas and the Nizam. When the Nizam came to know that Babu Nayak had started on his Carnatic expedition, he sent his army under Anwar-ud-din of Arcot to check the Maratha advance. In a fierce fight that ensued at Trichinopoly, Anwar-ud-din defeated the Maratha army. Babu Nayak was forced to flee from the battle field.[43] But, the Marathas temporarily gave up this idea of taking Trichinopoly and shifted their activities to the *Morasunad* area in Karnataka.

Why did the Marathas march on *Morasunad?* The Marathas possibly were trying to re-establish their authority round about Bangalore so as to secure a base for their military operations in the Carnatic region where they had to fight against the Nizam. The Marathas had lost to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar many of their strongholds in the *Morasunad* area like Bangalore, Doddaballapur, Hosakote and so on. These places acted as links between Maharashtra and the Carnatic. These links were cut off after these places fell to Mysore. It was only in the *Morasunad* region round about Kolar that the Marathas still exercised some influence. The local *Morasu* chieftains who were hostile to Mysore were strong allies of the Marathas in this area. The Marathas possibly wanted to restore their authority in this region with the help of the *Morasu* poligars. With this end in view Babu Nayak advanced on *Morasunad* and captured the forts of Begur and Yeliyur in the present Devanahalli taluk of Bangalore district belonging to the kingdom of Srirangapatna.[44] Babu Nayak instigated the *Morasu* chief Range Gowda of Doddaballapur to revolt against Mysore. Doddaballapur was acquired to Mysore by Kanthirava Narasaraya Wodeyar II in 1711.[45] Since then it was a dependency of Mysore and Range Gowda the chief of that place was a feudatory of Mysore. Range Gowda now threw off his allegiance to Mysore and joined the Marathas. With the help of the Marathas he occupied Devanahalli after putting to rout Narayana Gowda the poligar of that principality. Having set up Range Gowda against Mysore and creating a great confusion in *Morasunad,* Babu Nayak planned an attack on Srirangapatna.[46]

Nanjarajaiya who succeeded his brother Devarajaiya as dalvoy of the Mysore army in 1746 was perturbed over these developments on the border of the kingdom of Mysore. Nanjaraj soon appealed to Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot for help. The Nawab soon sent an army which consisted of the forces of his vassals in the Carnatic like Murari Rao Ghorpade of Gooti, Dilawar Khan of Sira and so forth to the assistance of Nanjaraj of Mysore.[47] The Mysore army led by dalvoy Nanjarajaiya left Srirangapatna early in 1746. At Bangalore the army was reinforced by a detachment under Shabas Sahib and his brother Haidar Ali Khan then serving under Katti Gopalraj Urs at Bangalore. The Mysore army laid siege to the fort of Devanahalli in August 1746. Range Gowda had the support of the Maratha army which was led by Babu Nayak while the Mysore army was supported by Nawab Anwar-ud-din of Arcot and his feudatories. A terrific battle was fought at Devanahalli in which Nanjaraj won a brilliant victory in April 1747.[48] Range Gowda was captured alive on the battle field. Devanahalli fell to Mysore and Nanjarajaiya returned in triumph to Srirangapatna.

Devanahalli campaign of Nanjaraj was an event of great importance in the political history of Mysore. For, first it delivered a fatal blow to the Marathas in Karnataka. Secondly with the occupation of Devanahalli Musore completed the conquest of *Morasunad*. Thirdly Devahanalli proved to be the first step in Haider's rise to power. It is this campaign that first brought Haidar to the light of history.[49] Haidar participated in this campaign as an ordinary soldier under his brother Shabas. His performance in the battle field attracted the attention of Nanjaraj. Nanjaraj made him the head of a small body of troops in recognition of his service in this battle.[50] Soon Haidar won the esteem of Nanjaraj and rose to greater heights in the Government of Mysore.[51] And by his own valor he became more and more powerful in the politics of the kingdom by over powering all his rivals for power and ultimately became the head of the kingdom. By shrewd diplomacy he became a prominent figure in South Indin politics in the second half of the eighteenth century and even shook the very foundation of the British power in India for some time by dictating terms to them at their own gates at Madras.

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20. *Annals,* 1, p. 165.

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23. *Annals,* 1, pp. 166-67. Venkataramanaiya (*Mys. Ra. Cha.,* pp. 36-37) however writes that the king was not wise in removing the dalvoy brothers. He brands the new council of the king as an assembly of four wicked persons *(Dusta chatustaya)* and writes that the king, finally realising his folly voluntarily stepped down as he found himself unworthy of the office. But judged from the subsequent events the testimony of Venkataramanaiya appears to be fully biassed. Venkataramanaiya's statement is also not corroborated by any other evidence.

24. Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 255.

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26. *Annals,* 1, p. 172; Wilks (*Hist.,* 1, pp. 255) believes that a younger brother of the deposed Raja possessing brilliant talents and promising features was alive at that time; but Devarajaiya ignored his case as he was unfit to be a pageant.

27. Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 256.

28. *Annals,* 1, p. 173.

29. *Ibid.,* p. 174.

30. *Hist.,* 1, op.cit.

31. *Annals,* 1, pp. 174-175.

32. *Annals,* op.cit., *E.C.,* V, Tn. 16 (1748); *M.A.R.,* 1914-15, para. 110; *E.C.,* VI, pp. 172 and so on. The grants of dalvoy Devarajaiya bear at the end his signature as *Mahisura Dalavayi Devarajaiya.* Between 1735-37 Devarajaiya conducted the Mysore army in the Malabar country supporting the ruler of Cotata in his wars against the Zamorin (*Telli. Cons. 1734-35,* pp. 81- 82).

33. *Letters-Telli* (1734-1735) letter dated 17 November 1735; H.V.Rao, *Hist.,* II, pp. 73-74; Muddachari, *Resistance of Mysore to the Maratha Expansion,* pp. 30-31.

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44. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 42.

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48. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXV, No. 55; *Kak. Mah.,* p. 15; Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 270.

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CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION

The kingdom of Mysore had its birth as a small feudal estate in the empire of Vijayanagar. It started steadily growing in size and importance after Raja Wodeyar's acquisition of Srirangapatna in 1610. Eventually it brought under its sway greater part of Mysore which included the present Bangalore, Tumkur, Hassan and Mysore districts. Apart from building a kingdom, the Wodeyar rulers also introduced an effective system of administration which became the basis for many of the later administrative developments in this region. The Wodeyar dynasty rose to prominence in that part of Karnataka which was once ruled by the Kadambas, the Gangas, the Rashtrakutas, the Chalukyas of Badami, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar rulers. The Wodeyars adopted in their administrative system many of the political and cultural traditions bequeathed to them by their political predecessors. Various statements and references in the inscriptions of the period afford some glimpse into the ideals and methods of administration in those days.

Salient Features of Administration:

The type of government prevalent under the early Wodeyars of Mysore was monarchical in character. The Raja was at the head of the government. He occupied a high position in the kingdom. The early rulers of Mysore were the feudatories of the kings of Vijayanagar. Since they were feudal vassals, it is inappropriate to call them kings as the term 'king' denotes absolute sovereignty. Feudatories cannot be kings. We may call them 'Rajas'. But the position somewhat changed after the fall of the Srirangapatna Viceroyalty in 1610. Raja Wodeyar and his immediate successors were in theory subjected to the king of Vijayanagar. But the later rulers shook off this semblance of subordination and began to rule as independent kings assuming some high titles signifying an independent status like *Karnataka bhumandaladisvara, Dakshiṅadik Chakravarti, Karnataka Chakresvara* and so on.

Kingship was hereditary and the king belonged to the elder branch inaugurated by Yadu himself. The eldest son usually succeeded his father as king. This law of primogeniture was strictly observed right from the beginning of the dynasty to the death of Raja Wodeyar. However, we notice that these rulers deviated from this principle whenever it was necessary. We see one such instance in the early Wodeyar period. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III (1513-1553) made a will that on his death he was to be succeeded by his eldest son Timmaraj. In turn, Timmaraj was to be succeeded by the latter's younger brother Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar. Why Bettada Chamaraja made this will, it is difficult to guess. it is likely that Bettada Chamaraja III might have seen some extra-ordinary qualities in the young prince Bola Chamaraja. Whatever might be the cause of selection of Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar, we see here a break in the main line of rulers and also a deviation from the principle of primogeniture. But, if the ruling king had no male children, some one from the collateral line was selected to the throne. But, if nobody from the collateral line was also available members from the families of the distant relatives of the ruling dynasty were selected to the throne (for a detailed discussion of this problem see Appendix 1).

Another feature of kingship in the dynasty of Mysore was the ideal of kingship which influenced the rulers in administration. The most important of these concepts was the ideal of *Dharma* or the absolute righteous conduct of the king in upholding truth and justice. In fact, kingship in India has to be understood in the background of the concept of *Dharma* which determined the approach of the ruler to both private and public life. This adherence to the principle of Dharma inculcated in the mind of the ruler a peternal feeling towards his subjects and made him share the owes and happiness of his subjects alike. The king was tutored, trained and continuously reminded of his obligations to his subjects. The solicitude of the king for the welfare of his subjects is best illustrated by Tirumalaraya, the contemporary writer. On the eve of the assumption of power by Devaraja Wodeyar, his brother Dodda Devaraja admonished the young Raja thus, "Dear brother, you should rule the land with such qualities that were possessed by Lord Rama. You are well versed in all the *Sastras.* Inspite of it by virtue of my overwhelming love for you I am to request you to devote yourself to the service of gods and your subjects without caring too much for your own welfare. Look upon your subjects kindly like your own children. By doing so you will accumulate wealth, prosperity and fame".[1] The result of such an administration was peace and happiness. The result of this administration is described in one of the inscriptions of the period which states that in the kingdom of Karnataka the virtues of the *Krita* age are daily observed even in the Kali age.[2]

By his virtues the king won the hearts of his people so much that they considered their ruler as a very incarnation of the God on the earth. For the services that Kanthirava rendered to the kingdom by protecting it from the Adil Shahi invasions, people regarded him as the very personification of Lord Narasimha (Vishnu) on earth *(Nararupi Narasimha).*[3] Kanthirava's successor Doddadevaraja Wodeyar is said to have assumed the honour of the kingdom only for the sake of protecting the gods and subjects. He ruled the kingdom according to the *Smritis (Smrityukta dharmadindaldu).* When so much sanctity was attached to kingship it was not so much politics that was involved but love and piety which formed the basis of kingship in those days. In other words, the kingdom under the Wodeyars was not a police state but a welfare state in which the kings took much care for the upliftment of the kingdom without in any way oppressing their subjects. Benefaction to charity and religious merit was essential. We have numerous epigraphs of these rulers which record the grants made by them for various religious institutions and individuals. Devaraja Wodeyar (1659-1673) is said to have divided the kingdom into four parts. He gave the first part to Brahmanas, the second to the gods, the third to charity and retained the fourth for his own use.[4]

The other aspect of kingly life in those days was that the king was not the law maker. The law that was in force was not the legislative law but the law of *Dharma* which the king had to honour. It was the primary duty of the king to protect these traditional laws and to maintain the religious customs and civil liberties of the people.

The kingdom of the Wodeyars was also not a theocratic state. For, a theocratic State is essentially religious in character. In it God is the head of the State and the king is considered to be his agent. In a theocratic State the government is entirely devoted to the achievement of religious ends. As the representative of the God, the king assumes divine right powers. Such conditions never existed in the kingdom of the Wodeyars. The king in the Wodeyar dynasty, never attributed any divine origin for his powers, but only followed the traditional laws of the land which he had no right to alter. While exercising his authority, the king had in view the greatest well-being of his subjects but not religious ends. Although there were priests in the court of the Rajas in Mysore, these saints never interfered in political affairs but would only advice the king on temporal matters.

If the ideal of kingship was in any way diluted, there was the council and the law of *Dharma* that restrained the Raja. That is, the people would never accept an unworthy ruler. This may be proved by an example. On the death of Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar, Bettada Wodeyar son of Timmaraja Wodeyar, the eldest son of Chamaraja Wodeyar III, succeeded to the throne. But, soon he was dethroned on a charge of in-efficiency and Raja Wodeyar was installed on the throne.

With this background let us try to know the infrastructure of the government. First, let us make a study of the central government. The king was the head of the government. Next to him was the *Yuvaraja,* next came the Chief Minister, the other ministers of the cabinet the *dalvoy* and the *Sarvadhikari* respectively. The departmental heads who had their headquarters in the capital occupied the next place in the order of precedence. Let us make a study of the powers and functions of each of these agencies.

Functions of the King:

The king had certain duties to perform. The most important of these was that he should foster righteousness. That the Rajas of Mysore were righteous is proved by the vast body of literary and epigraphical sources relating to the history of this dynasty. These sources reflect the high ideals of kingship which inspired them in the administration of the kingdom - the ideals as expounded in the *Dharma Sastras.* The kings adhered strictly to the dictates of *Dharma.* The classical theory that the king exercised super human powers had receded to background. The kings were very benevolent and were conscious of their duties. The interests of the ruler and the ruled were held identical. The kings strove hard for the satisfaction of their subjects and to make the kingdom habitable and comfortable to their subjects. An inscription of the period of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I tells us how diligent the king was in discharging his duties. This record states that by encouraging the vedic studies, by administering the earth, by making the kingdom prosperous, by delighting his subjects, by destroying the arrogant, by destroying the enemies, by being veracious, by killing the aggressors and by protecting the cow the multitude of *Dharma,* Kanthirava bears in himself the ten incarnations of Hari (Vishnu) - *Harer dashakruti dhara Kanthiravah.*[5] The deep sense of piety that characterised the kingly life is very well brought out by Tirumalarya the contemporary writer. This author states that Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar loved his subjects like a mother and cared much for their betterment as a father. "protecting his subjects like a mother furthering their interests like a father and promoting their welfare like God (Narayana), the Divine Being king Chikkadevaraja ruled in peace".[6]

The kings introduced a large number of irrigation schemes for increasing the food production in the country and thereby to increase the economic prosperity of the kingdom. Tirumalaraya writes that Chikkadevaraja excavated several irrigation channels in different parts of his kingdom. As a result of this scheme one could see irrigation canals and cultivated lands even on the tops of hills in his kingdom. These canals looked like big lakes. In these canals ferries used to ply.[7] *"Giri Shikaradol Kaluvevolam parivuvu parigalgalallalli pervolegalvol, Parigoladuvudadarol, Niravise Chikadevarayanesakavidento".*

The kings endeavoured for an all-round development of the individual including the propagation of the art and culture of the land. Chamaraja Wodeyar V (1617-1637 is described as an expert in the arts *(Chau Sasthi Kala Pravina).*[8] The *Honnalagere Plates* of this Raja tell us that he set aside his entire treasury for the sake of the learned men in the kingdom *(Kavi budarthim yasya koshasya purtihi).*[9] Govinda Vaidya tells us that in the court of Kanthirava were courtesans who were experts in different arts like music, dance, drama, poetry, literature and so on.[10] Chikkadevaraja was an accomplished musician and an expert lutist. In his court flourished the greatest literary stalwarts of the period like Tirumalarya, Shadaksharaiya, Chikkupadhyaya and so forth. His reign witnessed a renaissance in Kannada literature which is un-precedented in the entire history of Karnataka. His successor Kanthirava II was a mute. Inspite of it, he was a great scholar. He was a master of five languages namely Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, Prakrit besides his mother tongue Kannada.[11]

Apart from so many measures undertaken by these rulers for the promotion of the welfare of their subjects, the government under the Wodeyars also adopted many measures of social security. The rulers took special care of the physically handicapped and the economically weaker sections of the society like the *Jogi,* the *Jangama,* the *Darveshi* and so on and created special amenities for their living.[12] The government used to run certain institutions corresponding to the modern orphanages and remand homes in order to take care of the physically handicapped and the downtrodden classes.[13] The government also gave relief in the form of land grants called 'blood grants' *(Rakta Kodagi)* to the families of soldiers who laid down their lives in the battle fields.[14] This ideal of kingship, as conceived by these rulers, is very much in keeping with the kingly duties as envisaged by the medieval thinker Sukracharya who writes that the ruler is created by Brahma as a servant of the people getting his revenue as remuneration.[15]

Another important duty of the king was *Prajaparipalana* or the protection of his subjects. The question of protection implies (a) guarding the kingdom against foreign aggressions;

(b) maintenance of law and order in the kingdom and (c) redressing the grievances of the people.

The Wodeyar rulers have the undying credit of having defended the kingdom from foreign aggressions. After the battle of Talikota, Karnataka became the scene of continued aggressions of the Adil Shahis, the Marathas and the Mughal generals in the south, who thirsted for territory and plunder. The credit of saving as much of Karnataka as possible from those encroachments belongs to the Wodeyar rulers of Mysore. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar stood as a bulwark against the repeated attacks by Bijapur and saved the kingdom from the Adil Shaji attacks. Similarly Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar arrested the incursions of Shivaji and other Maratha generals who made a determined bid for suzerainty over Karnataka. Having thwarted these foreign aggressions, the rulers of Mysore came out in bold relief as the sole protectors of the freedom and culture of Karnataka and ruled as independent kings assuming several royal titles like *Karnataka bhumandaladisvara, Karnataka Chakresvara* (sovereign of Karnataka) and so on. The assumption of these titles indicates that these rulers asserted their right as the lawful rulers of Karnataka as opposed to the evil designs of hostile powers.

In addition to defending the kingdom from foreign domination, it is the duty of the king to maintain law and order within the kingdom. *Sishtanugraha dushtanigraha* (rewarding the right and punishing the wicked) was regarded as a sacred function by these rulers.[16]

The Wodeyar rulers were interested in promoting the welfare of their subjects by alleviating their grievances. They upheld justice and preserved the social solidarity of the kingdom by promoting the *Varnashrama Dharma.* They constantly undertook tours over their kingdom to listen to the grievances of their subjects personally and to mitigate their hardships. We have a few epigraphical records to show how these rulers protected their subjects from exploitation. The Sravanabelagola inscription of Chamaraja Wodeyar V (1617-1637) records an example to prove this.[17] This inscription tells us that during one of his tours over the kingdom, this king visited Sravanabelagola. Here he was deeply hurt when he learnt that the worship in the pontificate at that place had greatly suffered as the temple lands had all been mortgaged and the pontiff Shri Charukirti Pandita had left the place and taken refuge at Bhallatakipura owing to the harassment caused by Jagadevaraya of Channapattana. The king felt sad at this state of affairs and immediately secured the redemption of the pledged lands and arranged for the return of the pontiff to the capital. Here the pontiff was accorded a civic reception and the Raja conferred on him many honours, made to him free gift of lands and fully restored the religious life at Sravanabelagola. This inscription shows how these rulers rose above sectarian consideration and how they identified themselves with different faiths in the kingdom.

Similarly the kings made no discrimination while pronouncing judgements. They upheld justice and protected the interests of the minority communities from any type of exploitation. Ananta Kavi tells us that when once a dispute arose between the Jainas and Vira Saivas regarding the *Jainotsava* in the Hassan street at Sravanabelogala, Krishnaraja Wodeyar I conducted a judicial enquiry and settled the dispute in favour of the Jainas.[18]

Another important duty of the king was the protection of the religion of the people. The Wodeyar rulers, like the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, are well known for their catholic outlook in the field of religion. These rulers were intensely religious. They were staunch Shrivaishnavas. But religion was a personal matter confined to private practice. The government did not identify itself with any particular religion and treated with equal respect the different faiths in the kingdom. Religion never guided the policies of the kingdom and was completely excluded from state matters. In other words, the government under the Wodeyars was not theocratic but secular in character. The Wodeyar rulers protected the religion of the land in different ways namely, by observing religious obligations in all details, by the construction and renovation of temples, by the performance of great religious sacrifices and by making great gifts and grants of villages and lands to individuals and institutions professing different faiths. Their innumerable grants best reflect the catholicity and universalism of these rulers in religious matters.

Checks on Royal Powers:

Though the Raja was the head of all the executive, legislative and judicial powers, there were some practical checks on his powers. Some of these checks were customary conventions and practices followed in the land. Though the king was the source of all authority, he was not the source of law. He had to depend on the sacred law of the land which he could not alter. It was his duty to carry out this law. Administration was conducted mostly on the basis of customary laws and conventions but not on constitutional laws or the mandates or the decree of the king. In the same way there was another practical check on the unlimited power of the king in Mysore. That is the Royal council which prevented the concentration of all powers in the hands of a single individual and divided the power among the different members of the body politic. Existence of quasi independent organisations like the municipal corporation, the religious and craft guilds which framed their own laws which the king had to honour, served as another check on the authority of the king. Finally, it was obligatory on the part of the Raja to rule with an eye towards *Dharma.* This adherence to the principle of *Dharma* acted as a check on the powers of the Raja and inculcated in his mind a great sense of obligation towards his subjects.

Yuvaraja:

Next to the king was *Yuvaraja.* The office of *Yuvaraja* was an important division of the machinery of government. The heir to the throne was the *Yuvaraja.* Generally the eldest son was nominated as the *Yuvaraja.* Kingship was confined to the eldest branch of the family belonging to Yadu. Selection was made from the collateral line only if the ruling king got no male children. Usually the kings appointed their successors during their life time and gave them necessary training in state craft and political diplomacy. Raja Wodeyar nominated his son Narasaraja Wodeyar in 1610 as Yuvaraja.[19] The young prince was placed in the care of able teachers who taught him important subjects such as science of politics *(Rajaniti),* science of weapons and so on. On this, we have the evidence of Govinda Vaidya and Tirumalarya. Govinda Vaidya writes that Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar was trained in all the necessary fields of learning like the science of polity and religious lore along with Nanjaraja and Lingaraja of Hura by Brahman teachers.[20] Similarly Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar got his early training as *Yuvaraja* by Alahi Singararya along with Tirumalarya and Shadaksharaiya.[21]

With a view to equipping the *Yuvaraja* for the arduous task of administration he was given practical training by being placed in- charge of the administration of a province during the period of training. For instance, Raja Wodeyar entrusted to Narasaraj, the crown prince, the administration of the Kannambadi province.[22] The *yuvaraja* was of much help to the king in civil and military administration of the kingdom. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, as a *yuvaraja,* rendered great assistance to his uncle Devaraja Wodeyar during the latter's Erode campaign in 1677.[23]

Regency:

An important aspect connected with kingship in the Wodeyar dynasty is the question of regency. When the ruling king happened to be a minor it was customary to appoint a regent to look after the administration of the kingdom in the name of the boy king. In the early Wodeyar period the *dalvoy*, who was the foremost person in the kingdom, was usually entrusted with this task. But, in the Wodeyar history there are numerous instances of misuse of this trust by the *dalvoys.* Under strong kings the *dalvoys* were obedient and loyal. But if the ruling king happened to be weak the *dalvoy* would usurp all powers of the king and keep the latter in complete surveillance. This is what actually happened when Chamaraja the predecessor of Yadu died. The king Chamaraja had no male children. After his death his *dalvoy* Mara Nayaka usurped all powers of the king and subjected the queen and her daughter Devajammanni to severe indignation and cruelty.[24] This abortive coup left such a strong impression on the minds of the later Rajas of Mysore that they never appointed the *dalvoys* at all. They kept the post in abeyance for nearly 200 years. But Raja Wodeyar felt the need for appointing an officer in charge of the army in order to meet the needs of a reorganised army and an expanding kingdom. He therefore renewed the post of the *dalvoy* for which office he selected Battada Arasu. After the death of Raja Wodeyar *dalvoy* Bettada Arasu and his successor Vikramaraya proved faithless and misused the trust for self aggrandisement. But kings like Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I and his immediate successors were able to keep the *dalvoys* under control. The *dalvoy* menace again started under the successors of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. *Dalvoy* Devarajaiya and *Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya acquired much power during the regency of Krishnaraja Wodeyar I and his successors. These officers actually became the dictators and king makers using the pageant king as an instrument for self advancement. These regents not only betrayed their own king, but also, due to their internal squabbles for power, ultimately paved the way for the temporary fall of the dynasty and the emergence of a new power on the scene of Mysore politics.[25]

The Council of Ministers:

In the discharge of duties the king was aided by two advisory bodies namely (1) the council of Ministers and (2) the Royal Assembly. The king used to consult the council on all important matters of the kingdom.[26] It was a permanent body which framed the general policies of the government. Its existence was justified by the necessity to maintain secrecy in government matters. The ministers were chosen by the king. Once they were appointed they held office for life or till they enjoyed the confidence of the king. During the early Wodeyar history we have only one instance of a minister being dismissed by the king. In 1733 Chamaraja Wodeyar VI dismissed *dalvoy* Devarajaiya, *Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya and *Sarvadhikari* Nanjarajaiya on a charge of conspiracy and appointed in their stead an other council with Gopinathaiya as its head. The ministers were not selected only from sacredotal class. Because we find that Vishalaksha Pandita and Shadaksharaiya the councillors of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar belonged to the Jaina and Vira Shaiva communities respectively. Character and merit of the individual counted much in his selection as a minister. Sectarian considerations did not exist in the selection of ministers.

The strength of the ministry under the early Wodeyars is not known. its number varied from time to time. The strength of the ministry depended on the fancy of the king. Normally it seems to have consisted of 4 or 5 ministers headed by the *Pradhani* or the Chief Minister. Tirumalarya was the *pradhani* of Raja Wodeyar. Chikkadevaraja's ministerial council consisted of five persons headed by Vishalaksha Pandita the other members being Tirumalarya, Shadaksharaiya, Chikkupadhyaya and *Karanika* Lingannaiya.[27] Venkatapati of Kannambadi served as the chief minister under Krishnaraja Wodeyar II.[28] The council was only an advisory body being subordinate to the king. But under the successors of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar the council was over powered by *dalvoy* Devarajaiya and *Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya who deposed the king Chamaraja Wodeyar VI and abolished the latter's council of ministers. According to the ancient practice the Rajas of Mysore preferred the sons of the ministers while making appointments to the ministry provided they possessed the necessary qualifications. For instance Tirumalarya the councillor of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was the son of Alahi Singararya the *pauranika* of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar. Similarly Chikkupadhyaya another councillor of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was the son of Rangaraja who was a scholar and an important officer in the court of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar.

Royal Assembly:

The Royal Assembly was of a representative nature and is met with even during the period immediately preceding Raja Wodeyar. In its pristine from it consisted of the king's ministers, the *dalvoy*, the priest, the royal physician and the king's tutor. In the early period this Assembly was called the *Hale paika* (Assembly of the elders).[29] In the early period prior to the acquisition of Srirangapatna by Raja Wodeyar this assembly was a fairly powerful body and had a strong voice even in matters of deposing or selecting the king. For instance when Bettada Wodeyar predecessor of Raja Wodeyar was found incapable to manage the affairs of the kingdom it was the *Hale paika* men led by the royal tutor Ranganatha Dikshita that deposed the king and installed Raja Wodeyar on the throne.[30] During the period of Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637) it was the *'Hale patrika' assembly that removed dalvoy* Bettada Arasu from office on charge of treason and punished him for his criminal acts.[31] Wilks describes the *Hale paika* assembly. During the time of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I (1638-59) this assembly was sufficiently enlarged to be made more representative. This expansion of the assembly was necessary after the kingdom became large due to conquests and annexations, so that all the distant parts of the kingdom were duly represented in the administration of the kingdom.

But this assembly was too unwieldy to be always with the king to assist him, but only met on certain ceremonial occasions. Govinda Vaidya the court poet of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, gives us a good account of the composition of this body.[32] It was represented by the close ministers of the king *(Apta mantrigalu)*, accountants *(Karanikaru)*, commander-in-chief *(Dalapati)*, feudatories of the king *(Manneyaru)*, provincial governors *(Mandalikaru)* and so on. Kanthirava used to hold his court during nights in the *Lakshmi Vilasa* chamber of his palace at Srirangapatna.[33] The *Chaupada pustaka*, a work assigned to about 1670 gives us the description and composition of this assembly under Doddadevaraja Wodeyar (1659-73). Apart from consisting of the officers of the kingdom and the nobility, for the first time this assembly included the pontifical heads during the period of Devaraja Wodeyar. Venkata Varadacharya of the Tatacharya family the *Rajaguru* (royal preceptor) of Devaraja Wodeyar was a member of the Royal Assembly. Though the *Rajaguru* took no part in the politics of the kingdom during the Wodeyar period he was there as a religious head advising the king on temporal matters. This practice of including the pontifical heads in the court is a continuation of the Vijayanagar imperial tradition and was in keeping with the growing independent status of the Rajas of Mysore.

We have a lively description of the Royal Assembly under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the writings of the contemporary poet Timma Kavi.[34] *The Mysore Palace Records* tell us that Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar appointed two financiers *(Karanikaru)* to maintain the accounts of the courtiers like the poligars, Brahmin priests, scholars, physicians and son on who were the members of this assembly. It was also further ordered by the King that these courtiers should be punctual in their attendance in the royal court and that they should not leave the head-quarters without the prior permission of the palace authorities. This shows the promptness and discipline with which the Royal Assembly functioned in those days.

In the bureaucracy after the ministers came the *dalvoy* and the *Sarvadhikari*. In the Wodeyar dynasty the *dalvoy* was the most powerful officer. This office was equivalent to the office of *Senapati* or the *Danda Nayaka* of the Ganga and the Chalukyan periods. The life guard was called *Garuda* during the Hoysala period. The *dalvoy* used to do both military and civil work. But normally under a strong king the *dalvoy* was only in-charge of the army. He was the minister of war or the minister of external affairs. We see for the first time the post of *Sarvadhikari* in the reign of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II in Mysore. This post was at that time held by Nanjarajaiya II. The post was analogous to the post of *Sarvanayaka* or the *Maneya Pradhani* (House minister) of the Vijayanagar period. He was the Chief Minister under the Gangas. This officer was in-charge of the king's palace during the Wodeyar period.

The departmental heads who had their headquarters in the capital occupied the next place in the order of precedence. Among these heads of departments the most important was the *Rayasam*. *Rayasam* was was the royal scribe who was probably attached to the person of the king. This was a very important post during the Vijayanagar period and the Mysore Rajas seem to have adopted it. Nuniz refers to the *Rayasam* as the State Secretary.[35] This is like the Chief Secretary to the Government in the present days. The Secretary followed the king and wrote down in his register all that the king spoke. In the absence of written orders of the king the entry made in the register of the Secretary was the authority for the royal order. Under Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar one Narasimha *Upadhyaya* was the *Rayasam* of the king.[36] Lakshmipati a Jain scholar held this office under Devaraja Wodeyar.[37] Later under the administrative arrangements of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar these Secretaries *(Rayasa)* were attached to the heads of various departments.[38] Another important office in the kingdom was that of *Karanika*. The *Karanika* was in charge of accounts. There was in fact no department or office without a *Karanika* in Mysore during the period of our survey. Under Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar one Lappavarasa was the chief executive of the State Accounts department *(Sakalarajyake lekkavanu baredoduva)* or the finance minister.[39] Lingannaiya was in-charge of the public accounts *(Karanika)* of the kingdom under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[40]

Another important officer at the capital was *Koshadhikari* or the officer incharge of the treasury. The existence of treasury in Srirangapatna is proved by a record of Chamaraja Wodeyar belonging to 1622.[41] This was the provincial treasury taken over by Raja Wodeyar from the Viceroy Tirumala in 1610 A.D. There was a separate officer in charge of the treasury. Govinda Vaidya tells us that one Basavaiya held this office under Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar.[42] Narasaiya is mentioned as *Koshadhikari* under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[43] In addition to the State treasury officer, there was in the capital, an officer in charge of the mint *(Tenkasale)* also. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar established the mint for the first time in Srirangapatna and a separate officer was kept in charge of this new department. Ananta Kavi in his *Belagola Gomatasvara Charitre* mentions one Annaiya son of Javana Setti as the officer in charge of the mint during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[44] Besides these officers we hear of another important officer in the capital namely, the *Avasaram,* which means the king's representative.[45] In certain local headquarters the king had appointed an agent to look after his (king's) affairs in those localities. This agent was called the *Avasaram.*[46] There was a separate department in the capital to deal with these agents. Govinda Vaidya tells us that one Viranna was the head of this department *(Avasaradadhika)* under Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar.[47] Another officer at the capital was the mayor of the city *(pattanadadhikari).* This was an officer connected with the municipal administration of the capital. This officer is the same as the *pattanaswami* of Kautilya. According to Govinda Vaidya one Linge Gowda held this office under Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I.[48]

The Secretariat under the Wodeyar rulers assumed a clear shape during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. After his embassy to the court of Aurangazeb Chikkadevaraja introduced many reforms in the administrative system of his kingdom on the Mughal pattern.

He divided the machinery of the government into 18 departments called *chavadis*. He regrouped the administrative system under these departments. The following are the departments thus reorganised. These *chavadis* are similar to the *Karanams* under the Kalyani Chalukyas.

(1) **Nirupada Chavadi:** This was the office of the *Rayasam* or the State Secretary. It dealt with the petitions from the public and despatched all royal orders duly authenticated by the seal of the government.

(2) **Ayakattina Chavadi:** This department dealt with the public accounts (Civil and Military) and also kept the general accounts of the revenue and expenditure of the kingdom including the king's house-hold expenditure. This department, according to Wilks, resembles the office of the Accountant General of our days.[49]

(3) The entire kingdom was divided into two major sub-divisions *(Hobalis).* The sub-division to the south of the river Kaveri was called *Mysuru Hobali.*

(4) The area to the north of the Kaveri river was named *Pattanada Hobali.* The administration of each of these sub-divisions was entrusted to a separate department called *Mysuru Hobali Vichara Chavadi* and *Pattanada Hobali Vichara Chavadi* respectively.

(5) **Sime Kandachara Chavadi:** This department used to maintain the accounts of the military establishment *(Kandachara)* stationed in each taluk *(Gadi).*

(6) **Bagila Kandachara Chavadi** dealt with accounts of the military establishment attached to the king *(Hujur)* and the poligar.

(7) **Sunkada Chavadi** or the customs department maintained the accounts of customs levied within the kingdom.

(8) **Pommina Chavadi** collected the levies at a concessional rate granted to a certain class of people like officers and so forth who enjoyed such benefits.

(9) **Todayada Chavadi** collected a similar levy as the above at Srirangapatna only and maintained the accounts of the same.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar got extensive canals excavated along the Kaveri river to the north and south of Srirangapatna. Each of these canals was named after himself as Chikkadevaraja canal and Devaraja canal respectively. The king formed eight townships along the banks of each of these canals known respectively as *Pattanada Hobali Ashtagrama* and *Mysuru Hobali Ashtagrama.* New departments were set up for each of these two groups of townships *(Ashtagramas)* for collection of land revenue namely:

(10) **Pattanada Hobali Ashta gramada Chavadi** which was entrusted with the task of maintaining the accounts of the revenue from the lands irrigated under the Chikkadevaraja canal and

(11) **Mysuru Hobali Ashtagramagala Chavadi** with Jurisdiction over the lands irrigated under the Devaraja canal.

(12) **Benneya Chavadi:** This department dealt with the management of the Palace cattle and the accounts of the daily collection and supply of milk in the palace. During the period of Tipu this department was called *Amrit Mahal.*

(13) **Pattanada Chavadi:** This department was entrusted with the maintenance of law and order and the repairs to the fortification and public buildings at Srirangapatna.

(14) **Behina Chavadi:** This department looked after the post and intelligence duties as also espionage.

(15) **Samukhada Chavadi:** This department used to maintain the palace accounts.

(16) **Devasthanada Chavadi** or the department of religious and charitable endowments. This department looked after the temples and temple jewellery. It supervised the accounts of temple lands and the temple expenditure in the kingdom.

(17) **Kabbinada Chavadi** (Department of Iron): Iron was a government monopoly and its management was entrusted to a separate department. This department was to maintain the accounts of the iron mines and manufacture and sale of iron implements in the kingdom.

(18) **Hoge Soppina Chavadi** (Tobacco department): This department looked after the purchase and sale of tobacco which was another monopoly of the Government.

Each of these departments was committed to the charge of a Superintendent *(Gottugara)* with the required subordinate staff like record keepers *(Daftaradavaru)*, Clerks *(Gumastaru)*, writers *(Rayasadavaru)* and other menial staff.

Provincial Administration:

For convenience of administration the kingdom under the early Wodeyars was divided into many provinces called *Gadis* which were again subdivided into *hobalis*. Each *Gadi* was made up of a few *hobalis* and each *hobali* consisted of a few villages. Over each *Gadi* were appointed civil and military officers for collection of revenue and for maintenance of law and order respectively. In addition to these administrative divisions the inscriptions of the period mention certain other geographical divisions like the *Rajya* or *Nadu*, the *Sime*, the *Sthala* and so on.[50] But this grouping of the kingdom was a mere survival of the Vijayanagar period and did not have much relevance during the period of our Survey. The most important divisions under the Wodeyars were the *Gadi* and the *Hobali*. Each division or *Gadi* was placed in-charge of a revenue officer *(Athavane)*. A record of 1677 states that one Hampaiya was the revenue officer of the *Gadi* of Arkalagud.[51] Under each executive head was a *Senaboga* and a *Karanika* for collection of revenue and maintenance of accounts respectively.[52] The *Nayankara* system which was the characteristic feature of the provincial administration during the Vijayanagar period was absent in Mysore polity since the beginning. Instead, the Mysore kings at times appointed an 'agent for the affairs'. This 'agent for the affairs' is a continuation of the Vijayanagar practice. In some of their records the Mysore Rajas themselves are styled as the agents for the affairs of the king of Vijayanagar at Srirangapatna.[53] This 'agent for the affairs' is variously termed in Mysore kingdom as *Parupatyagara, Karayakarta, Gurikara* and so on. He represented the king in his *Gadi* or province and was directly responsible for the central government. In 1633 one Basavalinganna son of Kempa Wodeyar was the agent of Chamaraja Wodeyar[54] at Talakad. Govinda Vaidya gives us a list of 25 such "agents for the affairs" of the king Kanthirava. Obviously the kingdom was divided into 25 divisions under Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I.[55]

These 'Agents for the affairs' were appointed by the king through a royal order (*Nirupa*). This is evidenced by a record of 1703.[56] By virtue of his status as the head of the *Gadi* this agent was in charge of the seal of the treasury of that place.[57]

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar introduced certain radical reforms in the administration of the local units also. As a part of this reformation, he made a through regrouping of the local units. He divided the entire kingdom into 84 *Gadis* or taluks. Each *Gadi* was further subdivided into *hobalis.* To each hobali were attached 8 to 12 or 16 villages according to the size of the villages and the *hobali* was named after the major village in the group. Each *Gadi* thus formed was placed in-charge of a *Subhadar* who was assisted by a minor executive officer called *Chikka Parupatyagara,* three revenue accountants *(Athavane),* six clerks *(Gumasteyaru),* one writer *(Rayasadavanu)* and one news carrier and menials like *Defedar* (head peon), *Hastantri* (treasury assistant), *Golla* (treasury attendant), *Kavalugararu* (*Chavadi* watchman), *Kaidivatigeyavaru* (torch bearers) and so on. The *Subhadar* was the head of all civil and military establishments in each *Gadi.* The pay of the *Subhadar, Sheristedar, Khilledar* and other higher officers was fixed in proportion to their responsibilities. Half the pay was paid in cash and the other half in kind. The subordinate staff and the *Kandachara* men were paid at the rate ranging from half *varaha* one *hana* to one *varaha* a month.[58]

Village Administration:

Wilks describes the village administration of the period. He identifies each village as a "separate community or republic" that managed its own affairs with the help of 12 functionaries called the *Barabalutis.*[59] They were (1) the *Gowda* or the *patel* who was the headman of the village. He was also the judge and the magistrate who tried petty cases; (2) The village Accountant or the *Karanam, Senoboga* or *Kulakarni.* He collected the revenue and maintained the accounts of the village; (3) The Almanac reader *(Panchangada Brahmana* or *Jotishi* or *Joshi).* He was the village astrologer. His duty was to announce the seasons of seed time and harvest and to predict the good and bad to the villagers; (4) Blacksmith (Kammara) and (5) Carpenter. These two were the artisans of the village who would prepare the instruments of husbandry and the other requirements of the villagers; (6) Goldsmith *(Akkasale)* manufactured the ornaments of the villagers; (7) Potter fabricated the earthen utensils of the villagers; (8) Washeman *(Agasa)* cleaned the garments of the villagers; (9) *Taliary* or the *Talavara* was the watchman of the village; (10) Regulator of the tank water (*Kere niruganti*); (11) Barber (*Kelasi*) and (12) the scavenger or the *toti.*

This system was called the Ayagara system during the Vijayanagar period. It continued in Mysore during the early Wodeyar rule also. The system worked with so much of efficiency that "Almost every British Indian administrator in the early nineteenth century was struck by the vitality and usefulness" of the same.[60]

In order to make the posts of village functionaries more attractive, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar introduced some remuneration to all the posts in the form of pay and food grains. Formerly these posts carried no emoluments. Now the king introduced the system of pay which was fixed on the basis of the responsibilities of the respective post.[61] Usually half of the pay was paid in cash and the other half in kind which was to be compensated by the lands granted to them.

These posts of village officers were generally herediatary. Appointments to these posts were originally made by the king through an order *(Nirupa).* This royal order was later engraved on a copper plate bearing the royal seal and the signature of the king.

Maintenance of law and order in the kingdom was the duty of the local militia or the *Kandachara.* Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar introduced some reforms in this department also. Under this reorganised system there was stationed in every local unit or *Gadi* an auxiliary corps besides the *Kandachara* men. This corps consisted of a *Kotwal* (an officer of the local militia), a *Senaboga.* Crime detectors *(Kallabantaru)* and so forth. Besides these officers some representatives of the concerned localities were also involved in the task of maintaining law and order in the respective localities. A representative of the business community *(pete setti)* the head of the locality *(yajamana),* the local accountant or the *deshada senaboga* were some of the representatives of the people that were associated in the local administration. This body of persons was also entrusted with the task of trying small cases in their respective villages and towns. We see here the beginning of the Municipal administration in Mysore.

Military Administration:

The kingdom of Mysore came into existence under confused political conditions. It was a period when several foreign powers like the Sultan of Bijapur, the Marathas, the Keladi rulers and so on were trying to establish their sway in this region. The Rajas of Mysore therefore needed a well organised army in order to protect the independence of their territory. Since the beginning there existed in Mysore a well disciplined and a well trained army which fought many battles not only with the local poligars, but also with the foreign powers like the Sultans of Bijapur, the Maratha *Sardars* and so on. Before the fall of Srirangapatna there was no regular standing army in Mysore. The Raja of Mysore who was a vassal of the sovereign of Vijayanagara was required to supply only a specified quota of military forces to the latter during a war or any such emergency. But Raja Wodeyar reformed the military administration to some extent. He built a regular standing army and put it in-charge of a *dalvoy* or the commander-in-chief which post was kept in abeyance by his predecessors. This reorganised army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. We hear of the traditional fourfold divisions of the army (*chaturanga sene*) like (1) the infantry; (2) the cavalry; (3) the elephants and (4) the chariots.[62] But, this is only a conventional classification and the chariots were extinct during the period of our Survey. Since fire arms had come into use, artillery played an important part in the army during this period. Cavalry and elephants occupied a secondary place and served as auxiliary units in the army. A large part of the army consisted of infantry.

We do not have an exact idea about the numerical strength of the army. The Mysore Palace Records tell us that Chikkadevaraja stationed at each of the 84 Gadis in his kingdom a provincial reserve force ranging from 100 to 400 *olekars*.[63] The same authority states that Chikkadevaraja stationed at the capital a standing army consisting of 12,000 horses and 1,00,000 infantry.[64]

The *Hyder Namah* tells us that *Karachuri* Nanjarajayya who was the *dalvoy* of the Mysore army at that time sent an army consisting of 10,000 horses, 50,000 infantry and some guns to assist Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot in 1751-52.[65] If Mysore sent such a big army of soldiers to Trichinopoly to assist an ally, the actual number of its standing army might have been several times more than that number.

Infantry:

In the early period of the Wodeyar rule many of the battles fought were hand to hand fights in which infantry played a very important part. Later with the introduction of artillery under Chamaraja Wodeyar cavalry and elephants gradually occupied a secondary place in the army and infantry became more and more prominent. Chamaraja Wodeyar V (1617-1637) established an armoury at Srirangapatna for manufacture of arms like guns and similar such fire arms.[66] Since then the Mysore army started using Guns, cannons and so forth in the battle field.

Govinda Vaidya gives us an interesting account of the weapons used by the Mysore foot soldiers in the first half of the 17th century. A few of them are swords and shields *(Katti, Khandeya, Gurani),*[67] hand dagger *(Karachuri),*[68] lances *(Bhalleya, Nejeya),*[69] bow and arrows,[70] slings,[71] clubs (ubbana)[72] and various fire arms like hand grenades, guns *(Petalu, kaigovi, gundu),*[73] cannons *(shatagni- pirangi),*[74] crackers, gun power, poisonous gas and so on.[75] A few of the weapons of defense were shield (Gurani),[76] helmet *(Talavarige, mundasu),*[77] armoury *(maijodu, jodu, savagi, kuppasa, dagale)* arm shield *(Tolapavada)* and soforth.[78]

Cavalry:

That there was cavalry even during Raja Wodeyar's rule in the Mysore army is proved by certain literary evidences. Tirumalarya for instance tells us that in 1614 Nanjaraja Wodeyar of Hadinad carried away at Yedatore a frontier fort of Mysore a war horse of Mysore by name *Megha Purusha.*[79] We understand from Govinda Vaidya the existence of cavalry in the Mysore army during the reign of Kanthiravanarasaraja Wodeyar also.[80] It is not known from where the Mysore rulers obtained the horses for the army. Presumably they used only the local breed. Because the Wodeyar rulers had very little contact with the European powers like the Portuguese, who supplied war horses to the Vijayanagar rulers. The kingdom had to depend upon foreigners for supply of war horses. It is due to this difficulty the early rulers of Mysore did not attach much importance to cavalry. Cavalry came into prominence in the Mysore army from the late 18th century. This is obviously due to the contact of the Mysore army with the European powers in South India in the later half of the 18th century. Cavalry was very effective in making surprise attacks and also for rapidity of movements. The horsemen used to wear breast plates, helmets and they used lances, swords and daggers.

Elephants:

The elephants played an important part in the army during the early days of the Wodeyar rule. Mysore is a land of elephants. The Rajas therefore might have developed a liking to use them in their army. Chamaraja Wodeyar V reorganised the army by increasing the number of elephants in the army.[81] From Govinda Vaidya we understand that there were elephants in the Mysore army in the middle of the 17th century.[82] Sharp swords were fastened to the tusks of the war elephants and these animals were chased into the enemy camp where they did much havoc.

Since the Rajas of Mysore had to fight incessantly with the Sultans of Bijapur, the Marathas and the Nayaks of Keladi who contested for supremacy over Karnataka, it may be presumed that the Wodeyar rulers maintained a well disciplined army. Recruitment to the army might have been from the hardy sons of soil who worked in fields and also the hill tribes like the *Bedas,* the *Banjaras* and so on. We do not have any details regarding the recruitment to the army during the early Wodeyar period. However, the *Hyder Namah* throws some light on this point.[83] We learn from this authority that during the siege of Devanahalli in 1746-1747 *Dalvoy* Nanjarajaiya recruited corps to the army at Bangalore. Here he conducted a test in different arts of war-fare and employed such soldiers whose performance was satisfactory in this test. Recruitment to the army was not confined to any particular sect. Both Hindus and Muslims were recruited to the army. For Shabas the elder brother of Haidar Ali was already serving the Mysore army before the latter was appointed by *dalvoy* Nanjarajaiya.

Military Organisation:

The military department was known as *Kandachara.* The *dalvoy* was the head of the army. This officer resembles the *Maha Senapati* under the Chalukyas. The *dalvoy* was the minister of war and peace. It is presumable that he came from a respectable family and was well versed in the art of war fare. He should possess great courage and proficiency in several languages. It was his duty to see that all forts were properly garrisoned and all branches of the army were properly equipped and were kept at the highest efficiency. it was the *dalvoy* who normally led the forces to the battle. Raja Wodeyar personally led his forces during many of his campaigns. But later when the army was reorganised and placed in-charge of a commander or the *dalvoy* it was the latter who led the army to the battle field. The *dalvoy* was also a member of the council of ministers. Under the *dalvoy* were sub commanders.[84] There were small divisions in the army each division consisting of a small number of cavalry, foot soldiers and so on. Each such division was placed in-charge of a captain. This, we understand from the *Hyder Namah.* This work tells us that consequent on Haidar's good performance during the military operations of Mysore at Devanahalli, Nanjarajaiya appointed him as a captain and placed him in-charge of 50 horses and 200 foot soldiers.[85] Thus under the *dalvoy* there were commanders and under the commanders were captains each handing a small unit of the army.

The kings highly rewarded the bravery and skill of the soldiers. In order to make military service more attractive the government granted many incentives for soldiers. When a hero fell dead in a battle field the Government made free gifts of lands known as blood grants *(Ratta Kodagi)* to the families of such soldiers.[86] If he survived he was promoted to a higher rank. In 1648 Nanjarajaiya promoted Haidar to the rank of a captain in recognition of the latter's services during the siege operations at Devanahalli.[87]

Much emphasis was laid on discipline and efficiency in the army. This may be proved by an example. The *Mysore Palace Records* tell us that in 1640 Adil Shah sent his army under Mustafa Khan against Mysore. The Mysore army met the Bijapur army at Chandammanahalli near Bellur. Here the Bijapur general informed *dalvoy* Timmappa Nayaka of Mysore that Adil Shah would raise the siege if the king of Mysore agreed to pay annual tribute to Bijapur. Instead of fighting the enemy, Timmappa Nayaka came to Mysore and promptly delivered to Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar the ultimatum of Bijapur. The Raja was very much dissatisfied at the action of the *dalvoy*, immediately removed him from service on the charge of in-efficiency and appointed Nanjarajaiya of Hura as *dalvoy* who continued the war with the Bijapuris and drove them out.

Technique of War fare:

Govinda Vaidya refers to some techniques of war fare that were in vogue in those days. Some of these were the use of fire arms. Huge cannons were placed on the parapet of the fort from where the defenders would open fire on the enemy at a distance.[88] The defenders used to blow poisonous gas from inside the fort with pipes on the enemy below. A heavy cross bar armed with iron spikes all over *(Nunkuvaddavalage)*, was pushed down from the parapet of the fort on the scaling party below.[89] Pouring of boiling oil, fried sand *(Huri maralu)* and boiling paste *(Kadambali)* on the enemy force operating at the rampart below, were the other means of defense that were in vogue in those days.[90] Besides these, various types of crackers and fire arms were used. We have references to the use of stones like sling stones, sharp stones and so on to hit the enemy from inside the fort. Round stone and iron balls were used as cannon balls.[91] We hear of very large stone balls which were meant to be rolled down from above the fort on the scaling party below the rampart.[92] Blasting of the under ground routes was also another mode of defense. Two pronged sticks *(kave golu)* were used to push the ladders by means of which the enemy used to climb the fort walls.[93] Various types of guns were used in the battles. The use of guns by the Mysore army is evidenced by Tirumalarya.[94]

Forts played an important part in the defence of the realm. There were forts in various important towns in the kingdom. They possessed plenty of arms, food grains, drugs and military forces which were of use at the time of war. Every town in ancient and medieval Karnataka had a fort. This is because of the insecure conditions of the period. During the Wodeyar period also there were forts in many towns in the kingdom of Mysore. Govinda-Vaidya makes numerous references to the fort at Srirangapatna. Father Cinnami writes that Srirangapatna the capital city, was encircled by three lines of fortification and three moats.[95] The Rajas of Mysore took keen interest in the construction and maintenance of forts. On the reduction of Maddagiri by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in 1677 the latter took a great interest in strengthening the hill fort at that place which was well suited to control the advance of the Marathas at Sira.[96]

During an attack on the enemy fort the Mysore army would invest the fort. Convoys to the enemy camp were frequently cut off.[97] For instance, when in 1593 Raja Wodeyar attacked Harohalli belonging to the Viceroy of Srirangapatna the Raja of Mysore is said to have cut off all supplies going to Srirangapatna from the *Ashtagramas.* This incident caused much distress in the Viceregal headquarters where people were made to starve for two days. Besides cutting off supplies to the fort, the Mysore army would open a tremendous fire to breach the bastions. They would put up high platforms *(Meruve)* outside the enemy fort from where they would commence the attack. Such operations would continue for several months. This is what actually happened when Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I attacked Piriyapattana in 1645 and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar laid siege to Maddagiri in 1677.

It is difficult to know the system of transport in the army during the Wodeyar period. Bullocks and bullock carts were the most important of such agencies.[98] The other means of transport were probably forced labour and horses. The *Banjaras* with tattoes and bullocks seem to have played an important part in the system of transport and supplies in those days.

The Mysoreans were known for making surprise raids on enemy camps during nights. Govinda Vaidya calls such a fight as *Kaggoleya Kalaga.* We have an account of such a surprise night attack by the Mysore army as given in the Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam.[99] Being foiled in its attempt to take the fort of Srirangapatna the Bijapur army under Ranadullah Khan had retreated and pitched its camp a few miles away from Srirangapatna. The next night, Kanthirava learnt through his spies the conditions in the enemy camp. Many of the soldiers there. were wounded and several others were fully drunk while the remaining were fast asleep as it was the early morning. The Mysore forces suddenly fell on the Bijapur army. The

Bijapur soldiers were unable to resist the attack. They flew in different directions while most of them lay dead on the battle field.

We have another such instance of a surprise raid in 1682 during the time of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[100] It is said that during this campaign the Mysore army led by *dalvoy* Doddaiya made a surprise night attack on the Maratha army encamped at Kottatti near Mandya. During this action the Mysore army tied burning flambeaus to the horns of about 300 transport oxen in the night and chased the animals towards the enemy. Another contingent of the Mysore army that went to the assistance of Doddaiya from Srirangapatna fell simultaneously on the enemy from the other direction. The panic stricken Maratha army was attacked both from the rear and the front by the Mysore soldiers who slaughtered many of the Marathas in one of the most sanguinary fights ever heard of in the history of Mysore. Wilks describes this system of fight as one of the most unmilitary modes of warfare.

Another peculiar feature of the Mysorean war fare was the mutilation of the noses of the enemy. We hear that this practice of cutting the noses of captive prisoners was prevalent in Mysore during the period of Raja Wodeyar. It continued throughout the seventeenth century.[101]

Judged from its record it may well be said that the Mysore army was a well disciplined fighting force. The Rajas of Mysore had to fight many battles in order to save the kingdom from foreign encroachments. The contemporary foreign rulers like the Adil Shahis, the Marathas and so on would never allow the Wodeyar rulers to remain in peace. It is really credit worthy that the Wodeyar rulers have saved the integrity of the kingdom from these restless foreign wars of expansion. It is interesting to note some of the battles that the Mysore army fought to safeguard its territories from foreign domination. Some of these battles are Raja Wodeyar's fight with Tirumala the Viceroy of Srirangapatna at Kesare in 1596, Chamaraja Wodeyar's war with Jagadevaraya and the annexation of Channapattana to Mysore in 1630, Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar's wars with the Sultan of Bijapur and the repulse of the repeated Adil Shahi attacks on Srirangapatna between 1639-1647 Doddadevaraja Wodeyar's war with Sriranga III and the fall of Hassan and Sakkarepattana, in 1663 Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's victory over the Marathas at Kottatti near Mandya in 1681, the defeat of Sambhoji by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar at Banavara in 1682 and so on. These are in fact some important achievements of the Mysore army and these battles mark some important land marks in the political evolution of Mysore. While it has won so many battles the Mysore army has lost ground only on a few occasions, such as Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar's discomfiture at the hands of Ranadullah Khan in 1638 Kumaraiya's reverses at Trichinopoly in May 1682 and so on.

One more aspect that deserves notice in connection with the military administration is the system of intelligence. The Wodeyar rulers who were so well conversant with the military system as enunciated in the ancient texts also knew the value of an efficient espionage. We know from Govinda Vaidya that there were spies in the Mysore army during the reign of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar.[102] During the Erode campaign in 1667 though Doddadevaraja

Wodeyar put forth all his resources against the invading forces he felt that the Mysore army was too small when compared to the invading forces which were backed by Sriranga III the king of Vijayanagar. It was on this critical occasion that Doddadevaraja managed to detach from the alliance the Madura ruler by diplomacy and intelligence service. The rest of the army was easily defeated and put to flout by the Mysore army at Erode.[103]

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar reformed the army administration also. Under this new arrangement the king stationed at each of the newly formed 84 taluks *(Gadis)* a certain number of armed guards *(olekararu).* Their numbers varied from 100 to 400 depending on the size of the unit or the *Gadi.* In each of these units over every six *olekars* there was a Dafedar, and over every fifty dafedars there was a *hobalidar.* Over the military establishment in each *Gadi* was posted one *Thanadar* (Military assistant to the *Subadar*), one *Gurikara* (Head of armed bands), one *sheristedar* (head of the ministerial establishment of the *Kandachara* department), clerks, buglers *(Kombinavaru),* drummers *(Tammateyavaru)* and so on. During the period of peace the local militia was required to do patrolling during nights to prevent theft and burglary and to go to the battle field in times of war.

The *Subadar* was the head of all civil and military establishment in each *Gadi.* The pay of the *Subadar*, the *Sheristedar*, the *Khilledar* and other officials was fixed in proportion to their responsibilities. Half of the pay was paid in cash and the other half was to be compensated by the lands granted to them. To make military service more attractive all these persons were exempted from free labour and payment of all customary dues like presents and benevolences, house tax and so on.

Judicial Administration:

Our knowledge of judicial administration under the early Wodeyar dynasty is very much limited due to lack of evidence on the subject. Excepting certain passing reference to the administration of justice in the contemporary epigraphical and literary sources we do not have any idea of the judicial procedure that was in vogue in those days. The Wodeyar rulers laid emphasis on the concept of *Dharma* in their administration. These rulers maintained law and order in the kingdom by punishing the wicked and protecting the just *(Dushta Sikshana* and *Sishta Rakshana).*[104] We never hear of any instance of oppression of the subjects by these rulers at any time during our Survey. The kings of the dynasty are remembered for their benevolence, justice and liberalism.

The king was the head of all authority in the kingdom. But he was not the source of law. The law that was observed was the customary law preserved by oral tradition and there were no written laws. The available evidences show that in the administration of justice the king dealt with such cases as treason, land alienation, disputes of succession to property, opposition to the government and so on. The Mysore Palace Records tell us that there were lower courts which tried petty cases like tax evasion and so forth.[105] But all other civil and criminal cases were referred to the king. The king personally enquired into these cases and gave judgement. Presumably the cases were decided on merits after an examination of all the documentary evidences and trying witnesses. We have an example to substantiate this point. When once there arose a religious dispute between the Jainas and Vira-Shaivas at Sravanabelagola Krishnaraja Wodeyar I instituted an enquiry and settled the dispute in favour of the Jainas after making a through investigation of all evidences.[106]

But, occasionally in certain important cases where there was no sufficient evidence or witness to find out the realities of the cases the practice was to try the same by ordeal. For instance, when a dispute arose over the post of *Senabog (Senabogike)* of Arkalagud between one Venkatapati son of Bhaira Hebbaruva and Nanjappa son of Naranappa, the former vindicated his claim against the accusation of his rival by undergoing a trial by ordeal by dipping his hands in boiling ghee and thus justifying his claim.[107] We have another instance of a fire ordeal in Mysore in 1580. There broke out a dispute in Yelandur between the barbers and washermen on one side and the potters on the other. The potters insisted on certain rights which were denied to them by the barbers and the washermen and by successfully undergoing a fire ordeal in the presence of the God Divyalingesvara at Haradanahalli won the case.[108] But such trials by ordeal which were largely in vogue in the Vijayanagar empire are very rarely met with during the early Wodeyar rule in Mysore.

We have some cases which the kings have decreed through arbitration. Chidananda tells us that once there was a controversy regarding the succession to the pontificate at Sravanabelogola during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. In this dispute Chikkadevaraja acted as an arbitrator and decided the case in favour of Chidananda after a through enquiry.[109]

Similarly the king also decided the cases affecting the social and religious practices of the people. The *Mysore Palace Records* tell us that in the later half of the seventeenth century the kingdom of Mysore witnessed a great social crisis. Certain lower castes jealous of the rites and practices of other classes transgressed their own customs and adopted the customs of the other superior classes. In certain sections of the Society there was very much intermingling between the upper and lower groups. Some of the Arasu families in particular, related to the royal family had given up the social practices and ceremonies prescribed to them and had entered into marriage alliances with certain families of inferior status. This was contrary to the *Varnasrama dharma* which was the characteristic feature of the social life of the period. Realising the need for preserving undiluted, the social position of those families, the king instituted an enquiry and differentiated 13 families considered to be of non cross current of blood from the other 18 families of doubtful birth. In this connection the king issued an order in October 1690 forbidding these 13 families of superior birth from entering into matrimonial alliance with any of the other 18 families considered to be of cross current of blood. Through this legislation Chikkadevaraja strictly enforced *Svadharma* on the respective castes and communities in the kingdom and defined the rights of the fourth caste.[110]

The available evidences show the procedure in which criminal cases were tried by the king and the nature of punishment inflicted on the offenders. We have a few examples of such cases which throw some light on the nature of criminal laws and administration of criminal justice in those days.

The Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara tells us that in the year 1604 Bettada Chamaraja younger brother of Raja Wodeyar quarreled with the latter and went to Srirangapatna. Here he met the Viceroy Tirumalaraya and sought the friendship of *dalvoy* Ramanujaiya against Raja Wodeyar. However, Raja Wodeyar captured Bettada Chamaraja by a means of a stratagem and brought him back to Mysore and kept him in an honourable confinement. Enraged at this defection of Bettada Chamaraja to the enemy camp, Narasaraj son of Raja Wodeyar, made a plot to put out the eyes of his uncle by engaging a hireling. This plot however went to the notice of the Raja who immediately conducted an enquiry. In the enquiry Narasaraj a confessed his guilt where upon the Raja granted the accused a pardon and took all the necessary steps for protecting the life and property of his brother Bettada Chamaraja against any such fowl acts.[111] Though this case does not throw sufficient light on the procedure of criminal justice in those days, it shows that the Raja made no discrimination while giving judgement and never desisted from punishing even his nearest relatives if they were found guilty.

Plot against the government or any attempt on the life of the ruler was considered an act of treason. The sources of Mysore history provide us a few such examples of treason and the action taken by the Raja on each such occasion. The *Mysore Palace Records* mention that once during the reign of Raja Wodeyar Virarajaiya of *Karugahalli* a cousin of the Raja of Mysore plotted against the latter's life.[112] It is said that Virarajaiya bribed the priest of the temple of Lakshmikanta at Mysore and persuaded the latter to give to Raja Wodeyar holy water of God Lakshmikanta duly mixing poison in the same during one of Raja Wodeyar's usual visits to the temple on a certain morning. The plot however was detected by Raja Wodeyar at the last moment. The Raja punished Virarajaiya by confiscating his property and mutilating his nose and ears. Srinivasaiya the priest of the temple who was involved in this crime was removed from the temple of Lakshmikanta and was placed at the temple of Gopalakrishna at Kannambadi.

Capital punishment was very rare during the Wodeyar period. We hear of only one or two such instances during the period of our study. In the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637) when Dodda Chamappa and the latter's son Chikka Chamappa were accused of having plotted to murder the Raja, the king conducted a judicial probe. The enquiry revealed that the accused were guilty of treason. They were executed under the orders of the Raja. Bettada Arasu the *dalvoy* who was also found involved in this plot was removed from the post of *dalvoy*. His eyes were removed and he was kept in confinement for the remaining period of his life.[113]

In the same way Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I held an enquiry to find out the cause of the death of his predecessor *Immadi* Raja Wodeyar (1637-1638). The enquiry found *dalvoy* Vikramaraya guilty of treason. The king therefore removed the regecide from the office of *dalvoy* and inflicted on him condign punishment.[114] These instances furnish us an important factor connected with the administration of criminal justice in those days. That is, in all such cases the king was the hearer of the case, it was he who decreed the case and it was he who awarded the punishment.

Punishment:

In the history of Mysore during our Survey instances of crime and punishment are very few. Punishments under the Wodeyars were generally light and such ghostly punishments of the rude old days like trodding to death by elephants or impalement are never heard of. The usual punishments that we hear during this period are imprisonment, mutilation and very rarely execution. Kabbaladurga near Channapattana was the chief centre of punishment where prisoners - especially the royal prisoners - would be detained. It is here that *dalvoy* Devarajaiya detained Chamaraja VI along with his family where the unfortunate royal detenu lost his life on account of the insalubrity of the climate of the place.

Mischievous persons were also punished with confiscation of their property. From the *Mysore Palace Records* we learn that with a view to curbing certain turbulent farmers Kanthirava Narasaraja I confiscated all their property leaving them just the minimum necessary for their sustenance.[115] Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar also punished some miscreants who opposed his taxation policy by confiscating their property to the government leaving only the barest minimum for their living.[116]

A study of administration under the early Wodeyars of Mysore reveals that these Rajas ruled in accordance with the precepts of *Dharma.* They were keen on maintaining the balance of justice even. These kings are noted for their liberal outlook in religious matters and fair-mindedness in administration. Protection of their subjects from any type of exploitation was considered by them a sacred duty. These rulers punished the mischevous and the rebellious, established law and order in the kingdom and ruled ably and justly. In short, the government under the Wodeyars was not autocratic but was humane and benevolent.

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

The history of a kingdom does not mean a mere survey of the glory and splendour of its kings. It is also not merely an enumeration of the conquests and exploits of the kings. In history common men also matter as much as those who rule or govern. We have to probe deep into their family life. Their ways of living, thinking, the food they ate, the dress they wore, the weapons they used, the ornaments of the day, their morals, manners, customs, feasts, festivals, fairs and so on should also be traced. These aspects shed much light on the general conditions of the society. Our study of history becomes incomplete without a reference to the society of the period and the general conditions of the people in the kingdom.

The history of Mysore is influenced by some important geographical factors. First is the climate of the land which is mild and bearable throughout the year. It is neither too hot nor too cold. We have a moderate rain-fall here. The land is sufficiently fed by the two monsoons. It is also free from the ravages of nature and has generally enjoyed a good supply of the prime necessities of life. Scarcity and famine are very rarely heard of. The inhabitants have no need to toil too hard for their living as they are blessed by the bounty of nature. The people could therefore devote much of their leisure for the development of their artistic talents. Secondly, the land is separated from the rest of the country in the east, west and south by the eastern and the western ghats. This isolation has made the people develop and cherish habits and traditions of their own. People living under such conditions have naturally developed a mild and passive outlook. Their social life is not much adventurous.

Institution of the caste was the basis of the social order. The population was organised into the traditional four fold castes.[1] Upholding the social order was the primary duty of the king. Every where people lived in communities organised on the basis of caste and religion. The fifth class inhabitants who were considered as out-castes or un-touchables tilled the land and did all sorts of manual jobs.

Brahmins:

Brahmins enjoyed a high status in society. They were a priestly class and their main profession was priesthood and pursuit of literary activity. However a few of them entered public service also. They led a simple and clean life and were known for orthodoxy and industry. They were proficient in learning and teaching. They lived on voluntary gifts of land from the king and lived in a separate locality of their own called *Agrahara* pursuing their religious avocations. When ever there was a derth of Brahmins in any locality they were brought from outside and the king created all facilities for them to settle down comfortably in the new place.

Kshatriyas:

Next to Brahmins were the Kshatriyas. They were the governing class and therefore enjoyed political power and authority. As they were the governing class they occupied an important place in society. .We learn from the inscriptions that the Wodeyar rulers who belonged to the lunar race belonged to the family of Yadu of *Dvaraka* in the north. But, this is only a mythological story of the origin of the dynasty. We have already discussed in the first chapter that the progenitors of the dynasty are probably the sons of the soil and that they belonged to the Lunar race.

The Vaishyas:

The Vaishyas occupied the next place in the social hierarchy. Their main profession was trade and commerce. Their profession gave them a chance to acquire a large amount of wealth and they were the richest community in the society. They constituted themselves into a merchant guild for the advancement of trade and their material well being.

The Sudras:

All those that were not the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas belonged to this category. They formed the bulk of the population. Their main job was to assist the other three castes by offering manual labour. On the basis of occupation carried on by them the *Sudras* were subdivided into several sub-castes and sub-sects like the potters *(Kumbara)*, washerman *(Agasa)*, carpenter *(Badagi)*, barber *(Kelasi)*, oil pressers *(ganiga)*, blaksmith *(Kammara)* and so forth. Sometimes there was an attempt by certain members of the lower castes to transgress their rights and to adopt the customs of the other superior classes. In the later half of the 17th century there was a social crisis in Mysore. Certain sects gave up the rights and habits prescribed to them and adopted the customs of other superior sects. There was much intermingling of different castes. At such a time Chikkadevaraja issued a legislation in October 1690 forbidding these intermarriages and enforced *Svadharma* on the respective castes and defined the rights of the fourth caste.[2]

Family:

The family life during the early Wodeyar period was not in any way much different from what we see today in these parts. The type of family prevalent was patriarchical. Father was the head of the family. If he grew old, the eldest son would assume the head-ship.

Women enjoyed a respectable position. The family women were of a retiring nature and seldom took part in any of the public functions. The Wodeyar dynasty has not produced either a woman administrator or a woman soldier. Female education was not very much encouraged. But this was not a general rule. For, we see a few ladies of the period like *Sanchi* Honnamma, Singaramma and so forth were known for their literary attainments. Govinda Vaidya tells us that his patron Kanthirava was served by chambermaids who were experts in many fields of learning like, dance, drama, music, poetry, astrology and so forth.[3] The family women or the *kulastris* formed the bulk of the women population. Their duty was management of the house. While the women of the higher strata were confined to the house hold affairs, the women of lower and the agricultural classes worked out side the house in the fields and else where. While the duty of the man was to earn, the lady was incharge of the house hold managements and the careful husbanding of the resources.

Another important aspect of female life in those days was the existence of the system of *Devadasis* or the temple dancers. In Karnataka they were called *Patrabhogadavaru.* It was the custom of some people to dedicate young girls to the temples where they used to dance and sing before the deity during the daily rituals. The government granted them lands for their maintenance in return for the service rendered by them. The *Devadasis* were the servants of the gods and they were permanently attached to the temple.

There was another category of women namely the courtesans or the *Bhoga Stri* and the prostitute or the *Veshya.* The courtesans were accomplished in dancing, singing and other traditional arts and many of them received royal patronage. The number of these women was limited. The *Bhoga Stris* were looked down by the society.

Occupation of Women:

Woman of the higher strata of the society was normally confined to her house. Her main occupation was to be the house-wife. Some women of the lower strata were engaged in some professions like marketing the goods like the garlands, betel leaves and perfumes, basket making, oil pressing and so on which earned money for them. The royal family employed a large number of ladies for several menial jobs.

Marriage:

Early marriage was largely prevalent among the Hindus. Monogamy was the rule. Polygamy was also practised. This practice was mostly prevalent among the members of the royal family. Several kings of the Wodeyar dynasty had more than one wife. But among the common people this practice was very rare.

Sati:

The *Mysore Palace Records* refer to the practice of *Sati*, especially in the royal family. But, this statement is not supported by any contemporary evidence. Widows received much ill-treatment in the Society. They held an inauspicious place in the Society and were considered unfit for auspicious functions and unseable on such occasions. Their dress usually consisted of a red sari covering the body from the top of the head to the ankle without any jacket. They led the life of an ascetic and were forbidden to wear ornaments and colourful cloths and to use any sort of cosmetics. They could neither decorate their heads nor chew betel leaves.

Court Life:

The life of the king was briskly spent in various political activities for the benefit of the kingdom. As a human being he was equally interested in amusements and recreation. Provisions were therefore made during the daily durbars in the palace for varied cultural activities like music, dance, drama and so forth as a means of recreation to the king. The king used to hold an imposing *durbar* which was attended by the ministers, the nobility and the other high officers. The royal court symbolised the culture and tastes of the period. It was a colourful sight to see the king coming to the *durbar* hall in gorgeous costumes. Kanthirava used to hold his court during the evenings in the *Lakshmi Vilasa* chamber of the palace. It was here that the king transacted public business, received ambassadors from foreign kingdoms and tribute from the feudatories. The *durbar* was usually followed by various cultural programmes like dance, drama, music and the recitation of the pauranic lore like the *Bharata, Bhagavata* and so forth by the courtesans. Poets, singers, jesters, sooth sayers and courtesans were all present to witness and participate in the entertainments that took place periodically.[4]

Dress:

The contemporary sources give us a good account of the dress of the people in those days. Men's dress usually consisted of lengths or sashes or *dhotis (pairane)* of silk or cotton with borders of variegated colours.[5] Men of lower status wore a loin cloth *(datti)* and an upper cloth *(uttariya)*.[6] Normally men wore a turban *(rumalu, ushnisha)*.[7] Buchanan also mentions the *Dhotra* or the *Dhoti*, the turban and the upper garment or shawl used by men in those days.[8] The quality of men's dress depended on the status of the wearers. Men's wear also specified their vocation. The king's body guards and his personal attendants wore tight fitting garments *(Kayadalavatta)*, long close collared coats *(dagale)* and filgreed red waist bands *(kunkumagase)*.[9] We have also references to pyjamas *(challana)*.[10] Garments of similar kind may be seen in some of the paintings on the walls of the *Darya Daulat* at Srirangapatna and on the ceilings of the front varandah of the Narasimha temple at Sibi in Tumkur district, which being to a slightly later date.

Dress of the ladies usually consisted of a *Sari (sire)* and a blouse *(ravike, molekattu, kuppasa)*.[11] Young girls also occasionally wore saris of a small size called *kirige* made of silk with filgreed borders.[12] We learn from Buchanan that there were in Srirangapatna, silk weavers *(pattegararu)* who manufactured filgreed cloths of a rich and strong fabric.[13] While people of higher strata used costly garments, the dress of the common people was simple made of cotton cloth. Frequent references to handlooms *(magga)* in the inscriptions of the period indicate the popularity of cotton cloth.

The bulk of the population possibly managed with home made cloths. However the affluent and the sophisticated city folk availed themselves of the services of the tailors *(chippigaṭu)*. We hear of guilds of tailors who lived in a separate locality in the capital.

Ornaments:

People wore costly ornaments. Contemporary writers give us an exhaustive account of the royal jewellery which the king wore during durbars and on other ceremonial occasions. We have references to the jewellery stalls in the bazaar *(Chinnavaradara maligegalu)* at Srirangapatna. Here one could see a vast amount of jewellery of gold and precious stones displayed for sale.[14] We have an interesting description of several types of ornaments used by ladies in those days. Women wore ornaments on all exposed parts of their bodies from top to toe *(ungutavididu mastaka paryanta manangolisuva bhushana)* like necklace *(sara)*, girdles *(kati sutra* or *mekhale)*, nose screws *(muguti)*, ear steads of precious stones mounted on gold *(haralole)*, bangles of gold *(rannada bale, kankana - kaibale)*, bracelets *(kadaga)*, finger rings *(ungura)*, anklets *(kalanduge)*, badges for the feet *(kalupendeya)*, toe rings *(kalungura)* and so on.[15]

Men also wore ornaments like bracelets, necklaces, pendants, ear ornaments, girdles, finger rings and so forth.[16] Persons learned in the *vedas* and other sacred lore wore ear ornaments *(kundali)*, finger rings *(anguliyaka)*[17] and so forth.

People liked flowers very much. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* tells us that there were flower stalls in the market place at Srirangapatna where one could come across a large variety of sweet smelling flowers like champaka, jasmine *(jaji)*, malika *(mallige), mandara, kendavare*, and so on kept for sale.[18]

Education and Learning:

There was too much of illiteracy in the kingdom. But, judged from the literary quality of the inscriptions and the volume of literature produced during the period, it appears that education and learning received great royal patronage. In cities and large towns the mutts *(matha)* acted as centres of learning. But in villages children were taught in schools which normally met under the shade of a tree or in the varandah of the temple. The process of learning was mostly by wrote and the alphabet was taught by running the digital finger on fine sand strewn on the floor for writing.[19] Vocational or artisan training was purely a private affair. Such professions were mostly hereditary especially in the village areas where the father brought up his children in his own profession and learning went side by side with doing.[20]

Melukote was an important centre of *vedic* studies. Similarly Malavalli was another centre of learning. These educational institutions imparted learning to students in subjects like the *vedas*, philosophy, literature, grammer, and so on. Generally gifts of lands and houses were made as incentives to scholars to come and settle wherever they were wanted. In some places they were organised into corporate colleges called *Sataka* or *agraharas*. The *purva sataka* and the *dvitiya sataka* at Devanagara and the *agraharas* at Yadavapura (Melukote), Tondanur (Tonnur) and so on were a few such institutions. *Vedas, puranas* and other sacred lore were the subjects of religious learning. Music, drama, poetry and so forth were some of the secular subjects favoured by the upper strata of the society.

Food:

Food habits of the people were not much different from the general pattern prevailing in Karnataka in our days. Main articles of food grown in the kingdom were rice and *ragi*. Govinda Vaidya gives us the names of 13 varieties of rice grown in Mysore in those days.[21] *Ragi* which is a dry crop, was essentially the food of the poor people. Besides rice and *ragi* we get references in the inscriptions of the period to grains, cereals, beans, vegetables, coconut, plantain, pepper, sugar cane, spices and fruits. Vegetarianism was confined to a few communities like Brahmains, Jains, Lingayats and so on. But the bulk of the population supplemented its diet by the use of meat and fish. References to excise duty *(ichalu kandaya)* indicates that drinking was prevalent in some section of the society.[22]

The *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* gives us a variety of delicacies of those days. Some of these are *chitranna,* many side dishes like pickles, papad *(happala),* green chillies soaked in salt *(balaka)* and so on. Soup of tugar dall and green gram, *vade, dose, garige* are commonly met with. Among the favourite sweets *shikarane, payasa, shalyanna, kajjaya, sajjige, mandige* are mentioned. Curd and butter-milk were also common items of the meal.[23] People chewed betel leaves with arecanut *(tambula).*

Sports and Pastime:

People spent their leisure in a variety of amusements, sports and social gatherings. The social life of the people was characterised by certain seasonal festivals in which all people took part. The car festival of Sriranganatha and that of Narayana at Melukote were very popular and attracted devotees from different parts of the kingdom.[24] Equally important was the spring festival or the *(Vasantotsava)* at Srirangapatna and other places. This was held during the months of April-May every year. This festival was also some times associated with various cultural entertainments like drama, dance and so forth which were conducted before a highly cultured gathering.[25] Such festivals would be held in all places of pilgrimage. *Dasara* was a very great festival which lasted for nine days. Govinda Vaidya who was an eye witness of these festivities that were held in Srirangapatna in 1647, gives us a vivid account of these celebrations.[26] These festivities attracted huge crowds of people from different parts of the kingdom besides the neighbouring rulers like those of Keladi, Kodagu, Maleyala and so forth. The feudatories of the king also attended the festivities. They paid their tributes to the king during his *durbar* on this occasion. Dasara was first inaugurated in Mysore by Raja Wodeyar in 1610 in continuation of the Vijayanagar tradition. This festival became more famous during his successors. This tradition was kept up by the Mysore royal family in all its original splendour and pomp till very recently.

Among other pastimes of the people were the various animal and bird fights like the ram fight, bull fight, elephant fight, cock fight, quail fight and so on.[27] Horse riding and elephant riding were practised by kings and princes. Govinda Vaidya writes that one could normally see on the streets near the palace at Srirangapatha princes prancing the horses and riding the elephants publicly.[28] Another popular sport in those days was wrestling practised both by the kings and common men alike. There were arenas inside the palace where wrestling matches and animal fights took place during the Dasara festivities.[29] Along with wrestling, duelling, was also popular. Yadu the progenitor of the dynasty of the Wodeyars killed *dalvoy* Mara Nayaka in a duel. Similarly Raja Wodeyar defeated Deparaj, the chief of Kembal, in a single encounter.[30]

We have also references to certain indoor games which were in practice in Mysore in those days. The most important of these were dice *(pagade)* and chess *(chaduranga).*[31] It is very interesting to see that these games have retained their original features even today in Mysore. Govinda Vaidya mentions *Hasu* (dice board), the dice coins of yellow, green, red and black colours and the die *(dala)* used in playing dice which are all similar even today in Mysore. Chess game of those days was also the same as we see it today in Karnataka. The chess games-man like the elephant, the chariot, the minister, the horse and so on met with in the contemporary literature indicate that these indoor games were prevalent in Karnataka in their present form 300 years before.[32] Apart from these indoor games, music, dance and drama were some of the major sources of entertainment and pastime to the elite section of the society.

Prostitution seems to have been largely in vogue. Govinda Vaidya gives us a graphic description of the customs, manners, habits, dress, ornaments, and amusements of these prostitutes in Srirangapatna.[33] They lived in a separate street (*Sulegeri, Sule batike, Veshya vatika*) of the city. From the accounts of the court poets it appears that prostitution was not a vice but a sine-qua-non of social life in those days.

In addition to these, we also hear of certain peripatetic entertainers like wizards, jugglers, buffoons and troupes of acrobatic performers *(Dombaru)* and snake charmers. They kept on moving from place to place and their visits produced much genuine amusement to the people at little cost.[34]

Beliefs and Superstitions:

Illiteracy of the people resulted in too much of superstition at all levels of the society. People believed in magical and supernatural powers. Each village had an almanac reader *(panchangada Brahmana).*[35] His duty was to forecast rains and to suggest to the farmers the favourable time for sowing the seeds and so on. In fact, all functions, whether religious, social or even political were commenced at the auspicious moments prescribed by the astrologers. There were astrologers in the royal court also. Lakkappa Sharman (grand son of Lokkappa *Jotisha* and son of Banadanna *Jotisha*) was one of the court astrologers of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar.[36]

Town Planning:

The contemporary writers give us an idea of the general condition of dwelling in those days. Govinda Vaidya refers to various storeyed buildings that existed on either side of the main street leading to the palace at Srirangapatna. In these buildings dwelt the princes, the nobility and the high officers of the State.[37] This account of the royal poet is substantiated by the Italian writer Cinnami. Cinnami tells us that the high buildings of the nobles and the grand towers of the palace looked to a distance like an art exhibition.[38] But the common people lived in ordinary houses with flat roofs *(Malige)*.[39] The houses were all generally white washed. The houses of the middle and lower class people were arranged according to their castes and professions in various narrow streets *(keri)* in the interior of the city.[40]

Furniture:

We have in the contemporary literature some details about the furniture used by men in those days. The most important of these were cots and swings. Cots were generally used by many sections of the society.[41] The cots used by the kings were inlaid with ivory and precious stones.[42] Another type of furniture used in the houses was the swing. It seems it was customary to have a swing in the verandah of every house in those days.[43] There were swings in the entrance of the palace at Srirangapatna also.[44] We have also references to stools and bolsters which the upper strata of the society used in their houses.[45] Similar cushions are seen in some sculptures on the pillars in the *mukhamandapa* of the Vijayanarayana temple at Gundlupet and in the paintings on the walls of the Darya Daulat at Srirangapatna.

People used perfumes like sandalwood paste, musk and so on for fragrance. It is said that in the market area at Srirangapatna there were several perfumery shops. Here ladies used to prepare and sell perfumes in small tins.[46]

References to cobblers indicate that people were also used for sandals and shoes. It is said that in every town and village cobblers resided in a separate locality where they used to tan the leather.[47] Sandls were possibly made of leather and dyed in different colours. Buchanan refers to leather tanning by a class of people called *madigaru* who also prepared foot wears.[48]

Economic Conditions:

The study of the economic history of Mysore under the Wodeyars involves an examination of the rural and urban economy, the types of land, mode of acquisition of the landed property, land survey, demarcation of land, the problem of land tenancy, irrigation, animal husbandry and so on. In the urban economy the factors such as Trade, Commerce, Industry, Transport and Communication, Currency System, the merchant guilds and so forth are to be discussed in detail. Similarly the public finance and the public expenditure under the Wodeyars like the system of taxation, collection of revenue and so forth are to be dealt with.

The kingdom of Mysore was basically an agricultural one. But, there were persons carrying on several other occupations like government servants - civil and military - trading class, religious class, farmers, labour class and so forth. Besides, there were also persons following miscellaneous occupations like painters, sculptors, musicians, dancers and so forth who depended mostly on royal patronage.

Rural Economy:

The village was the most important centre of rural economy. The village lands consisted of wet lands *(gadde)* dry lands *(Beddalu, Hola),* garden lands *(tota)* and vegetable gardens *(Tudike).* Cultivation was carried on mostly with rain water *(Kadaramba)* and partly by means of other irrigation facilities *(Niraramba)* like tanks *(kere),* reservoirs *(katte),* canal *(kaluve)* and so forth. Cultivable lands could broadly be divided into two categories namely revenue or demesne lands and private lands acquired by private individuals or religious institutions.

The main sources of acquisition of lands by private parties were largely through gifts by the kings and secondly, through purchase. Religion was the basis factor in the daily life of the community and this factor greatly influenced land transactions also. The kings made large gifts of lands to the religious institutions like the temples and the mutts *(Matha)* in recognition of the services rendered by these institutions in the field of religion. Similarly the kings encouraged men of talents by assignment of lands.

Besides the above types we find a few more types of land grants during the early Wodeyar rule. Notable among these varieties were *umbali* and *kodagi. Umbali* was a free gift of land made in return for a specific service rendered to the kingdom by an individual.[49] It was called *pallakki umbali* if the grant was made for the maintenance of the royal palanquin and *gowdumbali* if the gift was made to the headman *(gowda)* of the village for maintenance of law and order in the village.[50]

Kodagi was also a grant of land like *umbali* made for an individual in recognition of some brave acts like sacrifice in a war and so on.[51] A rent free grant of land known as Rattakodagi (blood grant is met with in a few cases. This is a grant made to the families of persons who lay their lives in the battle field.[52]

We have yet another type of grant named *Kananchi* mentioned in an epigraph of 1622. This inscription states that Venkatapati Raya of Vijayanagar bestowed Ummattur and Srirangapatna as a *Kananchi* upon Raja Wodeyar.[53] The term *Kananchi* is explained as 'a hereditary enjoyment of ownership', 'a land right' or a 'hereditary property'[54]

These service tenures were the characteristic features of the land tenancy in the Vijayanagar period. They are noticeable only in a few cases in the early Wodeyar rule when the Vijayanagar principles of land tenancy still continued. But, when we come to the late Wodeyar rule we find that the common type of land grants were the *Sarvamanya* or a rent free land grant[55] or *Jodi* (quit rent).[56] These grants were made by the kings as service tenures or as free gifts to religious institutions and private parties for some specific purpose.

Besides the wet and dry lands in the kingdom, there were forest lands, arable lands and waste lands of which the king was the owner. Thus we see that the government was primarily the owner of all the landed property in the kingdom and the lands were alienated by the government to other parties for so many reasons. When once the king disposed of a given piece of land or a village through gift it was bestowed on the donee with all the traditional eightfold rights of ownership namely, treasure on the surface *(nidhi)*, treasure hidden underground *(nikshepa)*, water springs *(jala)*, minerals *(pashana)*, imperishables *(akshini)*, futures *(Agami)*, ready income *(Siddha)*, possibilities *(Sadhya)*. *(Nidhi nikshepa jala pashana akshini agami siddha sadhyagalemba ashta bhoga teja svamya)*. The king relinquished all his rights over the land and recognised the full right of ownership of the same by the donee. Besides this, the king also declared as valid, all the usual fourfold transactions *(Vyavahara chatustaya)* namely, mortgage, sale, gift or exchange of the property that the donee might enter into *(Adhikaryadanaparivartane)*. In other words, the king conferred on the donee complete right to mortgage, sell, gift or exchange the property received by the latter.

If the king wanted to sell a land belonging to a private party, he had to purchase it from the owner and then dispose of the same. For example, in 1664 Maridevaraja Wodeyar, younger brother of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, (1659-1673) wanted to gift the village Allappanahalli to the temple of Ranganatha at Srirangapatna. But this village at that time belonged to one Srinivasaiyangar son of Singaraiyangar of Srirangapatna. Devaraja therefore purchased the same from Srinivasaiyangar and then gifted it to the temple.[57] Thus, when once the king disposed of any land to another person, he transferred all the property rights over the soil to the donee. Thereafter the donee became the real owner of the said proprietory. However, while transferring the land the king could also reserve for himself certain rights over the property. In such cases the condition was clearly stated in the transfer deed. One such instance can be quoted. Once, Chamaraja Wodeyar V (1617-1637) learnt that the lands gifted to the Jain *matha* at Sravanabelagola had been mortgaged for a long time and that consequently there was no worship in the temple at that place. The king then arranged for the redemption of these mortgaged lands and laid down the condition that in future neither the temple authorities enjoying those lands should mortgage them nor should any one receive them on mortgage.[58]

The above study of the land grant brings out one important factor to light namely, the existence of the principle of state landlordism. All land in the kingdom belonged to the king. But the government recognised the institution of private property and respected the right of the people to own lands. We rarely come across peasant proprietorship. This practice of making land grants to persons who were not entirely dependent on agriculture, gave rise to the problem of absentee landlordism at a later date.

Besides bringing more lands under cultivation by making land grants, the rulers of Mysore also took care to improve agricultural production in the kingdom. As the kingdom depended mostly on rain, the kings undertook the construction of a number of canals, aqueducts, reservoirs and so forth. These works still stand as monuments of public works undertaken by these rulers. The Bangaradoddi canal excavated by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1637-1659), the Devambudhi tank (the present Doddakere in Mysore) constructed by Doddadevaraja Wodeyar in the year 1666, the Chikkadevaraja canal and the Devaraja canals dug out during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar across the river Kaveri in Srirangapatna, the Krishnaraja Sagara tank built by Krishnaraja Wodeyar I on the site where the present Krishnaraja Sagar reservoir stands, are some works of public utility undertaken by the Wodeyar rulers of Mysore.[59]

Besides, the government encouraged surplus population to settle in waste lands in order to improve agriculture by reclamation of land. In such cases the State gave several concessions to farmers like exemption from tax, land revenue remission and so forth.

Tenancy System:

While the government was the owner of the demesne lands, private lands were owned by private individuals and religious institutions like the temples and the mutts *(matha).* These institutions were not only non-cultivating organs but also owned vast areas of lands. They got these lands irrigated either by employing private labour or by temporarily leasing the land and sharing the produce with the tenant. We hear of two types of such tenancy during the early Wodeyar period namely (a) *Varam* and (b) *Guttige* systems.[60]

Varam was the system of tenancy in which the owner was the mere overlord of the land and shared the yield from the land with the tenant. According to the *Guttige* system the land lord leased out the land to the ryot for a fixed rent for a certain number of years. The rent thus calculated depended upon the average annual income from the land. We have a lithic record assignable to A.D.1551. It records the grant of the villages Nannigahalli and Minnanahalli in Mysore taluk to Timmaraja Wodeyar of Mysore (Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III 1513-1553) by Channodeyar and Mallaraja Wodeyar of Hura as *Sutragittige* for eleven years.[61] The term *Sutraguttige* is explained as the hereditary nature of holding a lease or a tenure for a fixed number of years by rotation.[62] Such a tenure could also be renewed. This is indicated by another inscription. Such a renewed tenure was called *Maru Sutri.*[63]

Mode of acquisition of landed property:

One of the most important modes of acquiring land by private persons in those days was through purchase. We have some contemporary epigraphs which record sale deeds of lands. These sale deeds throw interesting light on the legal and economic aspects of ownership of property in those days.[64] The available evidence shows that when a person was interested in purchasing any land belonging to the government, he would send an application to the king expressing his willingness to purchase the same. Next, the government would assess the value of the land on the basis of its annual income. The annual income normally consisted of the revenue from the land in cash *(Suvarnadaya)* which included all taxes and income in kind *(davasadaya)* for one year. The assessment was made by the *Senaboga* of the locality *(sthala)* and the *Senaboga* of the revenue division *(Athavane)* to which the village belonged. The available sale deeds show that the price of the land was fixed at ten times more than the total annual income from the land.[65] For instance, one Venkataramaiya applied to the king expressing his desire to purchase the village Malanayakanahalli and its dependent hamlets belonging to the Pattana *hobali.* The government then assessed the value of the village. The annual income of the village was fixed at 530 *varahas* and five and half *hanas* on the basis of the account submitted by the *Senaboga* of the concerned *Chavadi.* The party then remitted 5305-1/2 *varahas* into the concerned treasury. After the fixed sum was remitted, the government transferred the land to the applicant with all the usual rights of possession. Next, the king would issue a *nirupa* (Royal order) directing the *karanika* (accountant) of the concerned village to make an entry of the sale deed in the scroll *(kadita)* of the village. The sale deed would be further authenticated by getting the deed recorded on a copper plate bearing the signature of the king and the seal of the government. The matter was next reported to the *parupatyagara* of the *sthala* who would execute the royal order. In case the land was granted free of imposts a copy of the *nirupa* would be sent to the manager of the customs house directing him not to levy taxes on that land.

When all these formalities relating to the sale deed were observed, the government demarcated the boundaries of the land thus sold. This demarcation was necessary to facilitate land revenue assessment by the government and to avoid land disputes. The lands were minutely measured and boundary stones were fixed by the *parupatyagara* or the manager of the *Athavane.* Such demarcated lands were called the *patta lands.*[66] The boundary stones were some times marked with the impression of a *Linga (Lingamudre kallu),*[67] some times with the dwarf incarnation of Vishu *(Vamana mudre kallu)*[68] and in some other cases with a conch and discus.[69] The boundaries of the land thus demarcated were shown in the concerned village records. The *Mysore Palace Records* mention that the *Senaboga* of the village was entitled to a fee for making entries of the sale deed in the village scroll *(Kadita).* Such a fee was called *kaditada kanike.*[70] Similarly we hear of another tax called *Mudre Kanike* (seal fee) mentioned in an epigraph of 1749.[71] This tax was possibly a fee to be paid by the concerned land lord to the government for fixing the boundary stones demarcating his lands in the village.

Agricultural Products:

The available evidences throw some light on the agricultural products grown in the kingdom in those days. The following were a few of them. Rice was the staple crop and was grown in most parts of the kingdom where water facilities existed. The *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* mentions a number of varieties of rice.[72] Next to rice *Ragi* was the largest crop. it is a dry crop and was grown in the areas where rain fall was scanty. It was the food of the common people.[73] Sugarcane, tabacco, turmeric, soapnut, cotton and so on were some of the commercial crops grown in the kingdom.[74] Among the garden products, mention may be made of coconut, areca, betel leaves and so forth.[75] Besides, we hear of several fruits like mangoes, pomagranate, citron, lime, orange, plantains and so forth in the contemporary accounts.[76] Among oil seeds we have frequent references to castor seeds while other edible oils are also occasionally met with. Existence of oil mills *(gana)* indicates that oil pressing was an important occupation.[77] We have references to pulses like black gram, bengal gram, horse gram and so on.[78] Lac and sandal wood were important forest products.[79] The village was self sufficient in matters of food and agriculture and there is no reference to drought or famine during the period of our Survey.

Animal Husbandry:

Another important aspect of rural economy is animal husbandry. In an agricultural economy cattle breeding occupied an important place. Bullocks played an important part in tilling the land and lifting water and in transportation. Cows, bulls, oxen, sheep, goats, buffaloes, dogs, horses, donkeys and elephants were reared. Elephants were used in wars and in jungles for transportation of wooden logs and so on. Cows and buffaloes were useful for milk products. Dairy industry must have provided occupation for a large number of people. Besides milk, cattle were useful for dung which is a good manure and is also used as fuel. The sheep produced fur and flesh. The tusks of elephants were very valuable for ivory.

Public Finance:

The kingdom of Mysore was an off-shoot of the empire of Vijayanagar. Still, we see that considerable changes were introduced by the Wodeyar rulers in the revenue administration. Basically we notice that a large number of taxes prevalent in the Vijayanagar empire are not met with during the Wodeyar rule. Again we see much difference in the incidence of taxation. The Wodeyar rulers never oppressed the people with heavy taxes. Throughout the Wodeyar rule we never come across even a single instance of people migrating from place to place in order to escape the burden of taxation. Such migrations were common in Vijayanagar empire. The government under the Wodeyars derived its income from several sources. Some of them were (i) Land Revenue; (ii) Customs; (iii) Excise duty; (iv) tax on industries; (v) Profession tax; (vi) social tax; (vii) community tax; (viii) property tax; (ix) sales tax; (x) income tax; (xi) tax on forest produce and so forth.

Land revenue was one of the most important sources of income to the government. The Wodeyar rulers introduced some modifications in land tenancy system. These changes were necessary to suit the changing conditions of the time. As the kingdom was small administration was very much centralised. The practice of appointing officers on military or farming tenure which was the characteristic feature of land tenancy during the Vijayanagar period, was completely abandoned during the Wodeyar rule. Land was either gifted tax free *(Sarvamanya)* to persons of conspicuous merit or was let out on a purely contract system called *Varam* on *Guttige.* These were the important forms of tenancy that were in practice in those days in Mysore. It is likely that during the early Wodeyar rule the landlord took the traditional 1/3 of the produce. The assessment was either in cash or in kind according to the local conditions. Under the reorganised land revenue policy of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar the share of the landlord varied from 1/2 to 1/3. Rate of assessment depended upon the irrigation facilities provided by the government. The highest rate of 50 percent was imposed on those lands where better irrigation facilities existed like the lands in the *Ashtagramas* and similar other places.[80] On dry lands *(Beddalu)* where agriculture was precarious government levied a lower rate *(Beddalu kandaya).* This levy was usually 1/3 of the produce.

Besides this assessment on wet and dry lands, the government also levied tax on garden lands (tota).[81] This levy consisted of an impost on coconut, areca plants, and several other fruit bearing trees like tamarind, jack tree and so on *(Maravali Kandaya).* This levy was fixed on the basis of the yield.[82] Apart from these levies the land revenue also included an impost on the quit rent *(jodi)* lands,[83] tax on grass or grazing land *(hullu hana)*[84] and so on.

Custom was another important source of revenue to the government. It was the duty levied on exports and imports *(olavaru* and *horavaru).*[85] *Margada sunka* and *ubhaya margada sunka* mentioned in some inscriptions was possibly a road cess collected on the articles that were transported from one place to another.[86] This tax was also some times called *Magamai* which was collected by the merchant guilds.[87]

Excise duty included tax on toddy *(Ichalu kandaya),* tobacco *(Hoge soppu),* betel leaves and so forth.[88]

Tax on looms *(Magadere),* fishery *(pashavara)* tax on manufacture of salt, tax on oil mills *(ganada sunka),* tax on the manufacture of jaggery *(alemane)* were some of the taxes on industries.[89]

People of different vocations were subjected for a levy. This was possibly professional tax that was uniformly levied on people of different professions. The available evidences mention a few classes that came under this levy. They are blacksmiths, stone cutters *(Bettada podina terige),* bonded labourers *(Jitagarara kambalagarara sunka),* washerman *(ubbekanike)* and so forth.[90] Dr. Mahalingam observes the criterion for this kind of impost, that is the profession tax was not mainly the profession of the person concerned, but it had a greater social background. That is, the person born in a particular community was expected to follow the occupation of the same community.[91]

The epigraphs mention some social taxes that were in practice in those days. The most important of these was the marriage tax.[92] In addition to this, we hear of certain social contributions *(kanike)* that were made to the king by the people or the feudal lords on certain occassions.[93] *The Halepura grant* of 1677 mentions *Divalige Kanike* which was possibly one such tax that was paid on the occasion of the Divali festival[94] It was a present or a *nazar* paid to the king according to Saletore.[95] Another such tax was benevolance *(Bedike).*[96] Some other social customs like free labour *(Bitti),* free service *(Begari)* are mentioned in an epigraph of 1712.[97] Another such service called *Hittu bittu* (without food) is mentioned in the *Mysore Palace Records.* This tax is possibly identical with 'free labour' which seems to be a customary social service rendered to the king by the people or to the landlord by the tenant on certain occasions.[98] We also hear of a tax on exemption from bonded labour *(uligamanya).*[99] This tax possibly applied to the headman of the bonded labour who was excluded from performing free labour. He was liable for this levy that is tax on *uligamanya,* by virtue of his being exempted from bonded labour. People had to pay a tax on caste *(Jati terige).*[100] That is, people of each caste had to pay tax. Tax on caste assemblies *Jati-kuta* is possibly identical with caste tax.[101] We also hear of a levy on the exemption from payment of caste tax (Jati *manya).*[102] It is likely that certain castes or heads of these castes were exempted from payment of caste tax. *Jati manya* was possibly a levy imposed on these persons by virtue of their being exempted from payment of caste tax. In 1724 we hear of another tax namely *Namakanike.*[103] This was possibly a caste tax imposed on the followers of Shrivaishnavism whose caste symbol is the *Nama* (*urdhva pundra* mark) on their fore-head.

All property movable *(charadaya)* and immovable *(sthiradaya)* was taxed.[104] Among the former was tax on goat *(adu)* and sheep *(kuriterige).*[105] House tax was the most important example of the tax on immovable property. This is frequently met with in the epigraphs of the period.

Another important levy of the period was Sales tax *(Marida Sunka)* mentioned in an epigraph of 1677.[106] Tax on the sale of cattle *(Danakaru mariddakke sunka)* is an example of this type of tax.[107]

There was a tax payable on all sorts of income or income tax *(sakaladaya).* It included tax on cash income *(suvarnadaya),* grain income *(davasadaya)* and aggregate village income *(gramadaya).*[108]

Among the forest articles that were taxed were sandal-wood, wax, bamboo groves *(mele)* and so forth.[109]

Revenue administration was looked after by a separate department called *Athavane.*[110] Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar introduced many reforms in revenue administration. He adopted stringent measures for collection of various taxes imposed by the government. Of the eighteen departments organised by this Raja one was exclusively set apart for collection of customs. It was named as the department of customs *(Sunkada chavadi)* and separate officers like Managers of customs, *Sunkada Manegara,* accountants *(Senaboga)* and minials *(kolukara)* were appointed for collection of customs.[111] In the same way separate departments were set up for collection of land revenue in the kingdom.[112] In order to collect the road cess Chikkadevaraja established check posts *(ukkada)* at important places on the high ways in the kingdom and appointed over each check post separate officers for collection of the toll.[113] The annual net revenue to the government excluding all expenditure was estimated at 7,20,000 Kanthirava *varahas.* Chikkadevaraja was very strict in revenue collection. It was his order that every day two bags, each containing 1000 *varahas* being the collection of revenue from different parts of his kingdom, should go to the treasury. it is said that the king was so rigid in tax collection that he would not break his fast unless the stipulated sum was received by him and deposited in the treasury. By such careful husbanding the Raja is said to have accumulated a vast treasure. As a result he came to be popularly called *Navakoti Narayana* (Lord of nine crores).[114]

Public expenditure:

The government under the Wodeyar was not a mere tax gathering one. It spent a considerable part of its income on works of public utility. The main source of expenditure of the government was agriculture. The rulers spent a large amount of money on the construction of dams, tanks and aqueducts to improve agriculture. In addition to this, many other works of public utility requiring much expenditure like construction of roads, bridges and public gardens and so forth were under taken. Construction and maintenance of temples was another important item of expenditure of the government. The government had also to spend a good amount of money on the maintenance and beautification of the palace. Maintenance of the army and construction of forts and so on required large sums of money which the Raja met from the state exchequer.

Urban Economy:

Having studied the conditions of people in the village, let us try to know something about the living conditions of the people in towns and cities. people in towns and cities followed many occupations like trade and commerce, industries, public services and so on. A traditional pattern of town planning was followed. The city was divided into various localities or wards called *keris.* People of the same caste and same profession lived in the same locality. The merchants, the Brahmins the labour class, government servants and so on lived in their own wards which promoted economic efficiency and solidarity. Separate quarters existed for dancers, actresses, maid servants, musicians, drummers, prostitutes and so forth. The artisans, the cloth merchants, the metal smiths, oil mongers, carpenters, goldsmiths, jewellers, tailors, cobblers and so on lived in their respective localities. In such cites where the royal army was stationed there might have been cantonments in which professionals belonging to the different divisions of the army like infantry, cavalry, elephants and so forth resided.

A market place or a bazaar was an essential feature of town life. The contemporary writers give us a very good account of the bazaar in Srirangapatna. A large number of people depended upon trade and commerce and the merchants lived in their own locality. The bazaar streets were named after the sun and the moon *(Ravi Sashi bidigalu).*[115] In the bazaar at Srirangapatna one could see jewellers dealing in ornaments of gold and precious stones, merchants selling metallic wares, silk clothes embroidered with gold[116] and so on.

Though agriculture was the main occupation of the people, we also hear of a few industries in the kingdom. These were mostly cottage industries which normally catered only to the needs of the local population. The typical character of the industrial history of Mysore is its land locked position. The kingdom had no sea ports or navigable rivers. It is cut off from the rest of the country on all the three sides (except north) by hill ranges. Because of this isolation and lack of adequate means of communication the kingdom had to develop its own industries using the raw materials locally available. Agricultural raw materials like cotton, sugar cane, oil seeds and so on were raised every year while the forests in the kingdom yielded timber, fuel and other materials. References to taxes on industries and to the term mechanics *(kaivadadavaru)* in the inscriptions of the period indicate the existence of some small scale industries in the kingdom.[117] A few of them were textile industry, oil pressing, jaggery, metallurgy and so forth.

Among the agricultural industries of the period the textile industry appears to be in a highly flourishing condition. Frequent references in the epigraphs to loom tax *(Magga terige* or *Magadere),* cotton, and cotton yarn suggest that weaving was an important industry in the kingdom.[118] Bangalore was an important centre of this industry.[119] Oil pressing was another important agricultural industry.[120] The oil mill was locally known as *gana.* This people engaged in this profession were known as *Ganigaru* or *Tilaghatakas.*[121] Another industry of this category was Jaggery. We have references to *Alemane* (sugar cane mill) in the inscriptions.[122] Besides agricultural industries mentioned above, we came across certain forest industries of the period. Important among these were timber, sandal wood, bamboo *(mele)* and so on.

We have frequent references in the sources to some important metals that were used by the people in those days. Use of these metals shows that metallurgy was very much practised in the kingdom. Some of these metallic industries were gold, copper iron and so forth. There are references to the jewellery stalls in the bazaar at Srirangapatna. We also hear of the gifts of several costly gold ornaments to various temples in the kingdom by the kings of Mysore. These facts point out that goldsmithery was in a flourishing condition in Mysore in those days.[123] Copper was required not only for making house-hold vessels but also for making coins. Govinda Vaidya also speaks of coppersmiths *(Tamramardhakaru)* in Srirangapatna in those days.[124]

Another important metallic industry of the period was iron. Iron was possibly mined in several parts of the kingdom. According to paes iron ores in Mysore were very active even during the Vijayanagara period.[125] Apart from the manufacture of arms, iron was chiefly required for preparation of agricultural implements like plough-shares, scythes, axes and so forth. This industry, which was in the hands of private individuals, was taken over by the Government under Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Thereafter manufacture and sale of iron objects became the monopoly of the government. The government also set up a separate department *(Kabbinada Chavadi)* to deal with this industry. This shows that while the state owned certain important industries in the kingdom it also encouraged private management of industries. The economy of the period was a mixed one, with cottage industries being very popular.

Manufacture of salt was possibly another important industry.[126] Salt was most probably manufactured from saline earth on account of the land locked position of the kingdom.

Trade and Commerce:

Barter exchange, lack of proper means of communication and limited trade contracts with the rest of the country characterised the commercial activities of the kingdom in early Wodeyar days. But, the Rajas of Mysore did much to remove these difficulties and to improve trade and commerce in the kingdom. One of these facilities created was the introduction of a unified system of currency and standardisation of weights and measures in the kingdom. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar established a mint at Srirangapatna in 1646 from where he issued coins for the first time independently in his own name.[127] The *Mysore Palace Records* tell us that several agencies used to mint coins during Vijayanagar and the poligar rule.[128] Each of these agencies had its own separate symbols on the coins. These innumerable estampages on the coins had led to a great confusion in the kingdom. There was therefore a great urgency to centralise the system of currency and to have a uniform device on the coins. With this objective in view Kanthirava set up a mint at Srirangapatna and brought about a uniform system of currency throughout the kingdom. Introduction of currency system greatly facilitated trade and commerce in the kingdom. This saved both the producers and the consumers from the difficulties of barter exchange.

Secondly, the rulers of Mysore encouraged trade and commerce by laying good roads in the kingdom. Trade and commerce of a country is closely linked with the means of transport and communication. A net work of roads was necessary for the speedy movement of goods. We learn from an epigraph that the Rajas of Mysore constructed rest houses on important routes through out the kingdom.[129] It indicates that the State was conscious of the importance of the roads which were helpful both for military and commercial purposes. There must have been main roads with a number of ancillary roads branching off at different directions. The rivers in the kingdom provided very little navigation facilities. The principal river Kaveri flows mostly through hill tracts with unsteady supply of water. Navigation in such a river is out of question. Therefore, trade and commerce was carried on through numerous roads which connected important cities and business centres in the kingdom. The capital Srirangapatna came to be connected with different trade centres and other important cities in the kingdom by means of new roads. Some of these roads were (1) The road from Srirangapatna to Gundlupet and Coimbatore connecting several trading centres in the south of Mysore such as Palukadapet Koduvaipet, Kollangodupet, Nerjepet and so on.[130] (2) The road from Vijayanagara to Shivasamudram and Srirangapatna.[131] (3) We have an epigraph belonging to the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar which speaks of the existence of roads in Mysore kingdom between Salem in the east to Sakkarepattana in the west, and Chikkanayakanahalli in the north to Dharapuram in the south.[132] Probably some of these roads included many roads referred to in Col. Green's report of 1831, namely, the road from Naikaneri to Mysore through Bangalore, the road from Srirangapatna to Sira and Bellary and the road from Bangalore to Harihar.[133] These roads also mostly coincide with the routes taken by Ranadullah-Khan during his campaigns in Karnataka. This indirectly corroborates Col. Green's report.

Transportation of merchandise on these roads was mostly controlled by merchant guilds.[134] At important places on these roads were put up octroi houses to collect the tolls.[135] Articles of commerce were transported on these roads through country carts and pack animals and head loads to places that were not connected by roads.

An important feature of urban economy was the organisation of guilds. We hear of different groups of people engaged in trade like *Vaishyas, Banjigas, Telgu Settis, Devanga Settis* and so on.[136] There were merchant guilds which controlled to some extent, the trade activities in the kingdom. Some of these merchant guilds were the *Merchants of the fiftysix* *countries* and those of *Mahanad.*[137] The commercial activities of the kingdom were confined only to inland and a few outside places in the south like Salem, Coimbatore, Madurai and so on. The existence of some merchants from Gujarat suggests trade relations with some countries in the north also.[138] The merchant guilds carried on trade in articles like cloth, cotton-yarn, betel nuts, tobacco, sandal wood, wax, ghee, saf-flower, turmeric, pepper, ginger, betel leaves, jaggery, salt, green gram, paddy, rice, oil, jute, soapnut *(sige)* and so forth.[139] At times the merchant guilds collected some levy on every commodity that was taken for sale on different routes in the kingdom and utilised this amount for some public works like the annual car festival in some temple and so forth.[140] Such a levy was called *magamai.*[141] The guild acted as a check on the possibility of a cut throat competition in the market which would result in the exploitation of the weaker elements.

The kings established trading centres *(chintalu)* in some important places like Bangalore, Gubbi, Turuvekere and so on. The commodities meant for sale were to be taken to the nearest trading centre where their selling prices would be fixed by the government. The commodities were to be sold only after their price was fixed in the trading centre or the regulated market. This arrangement saved the farmer from being exploited by the middle man. In addition to these trading centres there were regular weekly markets *(Sante)* in every town and important villages and annual fairs *(jatre)* in all centres of pilgrimage.[142] The merchant guilds would visit the fairs for trade. This business combined with pilgrimage to holy places resulted in promotion of considerable trade on all such occasions.

Civic Amenities:

Large towns had a few special amenities. The most important of them was the pleasure park or the public garden.[143] Another such amenity was the town bell which was helpful to the residents to know the exact time.[144] Provision of water sheds *(Aravantige)* was also one such amenity created by the government. There were water sheds in several places in the bazaar street at Srirangapatna for supply of drinking water to the public.[145] Among other avenues mention may be made of public feeding houses or choultries where free feeding was arranged by the government in some important towns and cities.[146]

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25. *Ananga Vijaya Banah*, p. 3; Chandra kalaparinaya of Narasimha Kavi, a court poet of Krishnaraja Wodeyar II was also one such drama. This was meant to be enacted before a learned audience on the occasion of the spring festival of Nanjundesvara at Nanjangud.

26. *K.N.V.*, Chapters XX, XXI and XXII.

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60. *Annals,* 1, p. 118; *E.C.,* V, Kn. 12.

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72. *K.N.V.,* V, *Vs.* 67-72. Several of these varieties are met with even today in these parts. *E.C.,* VII, M1. 2.

73. *Mys. Do. Pur.,* i, pp. 13-14.

74. *Annals,* 1, p. 118; *E.C.,* VI, pp. 215; III, Gu. 80, IV, Ch. 250, 218 and so forth

75. *K.N.V.,* V, 77, 78; *E.C.,* III, Gu. 80; *Annals,* 1, p. 127.

76. *K.N.V.,* V, 76-90; *E.C.,* VII, M1. 2; *Annals,* op.cit.

77. *E.C.,* V, My. 108.

78. *E.C.,* III, Gu. 80.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Annals,* 1, pp. 118-119.

81. *E.C.,* V, Tn. 16, VI, Kp. 45; Sr. 24; III, Hg. 17.

82. *Annals,* 1, pp. 122-123.

83. E.C., V, Tn. 16, Kn. 46, VI, Sr. 23.

84. *Hullu hana* is possibly a levy on cattle grazing in revenue lands set apart for the purpose by the government in every village. This grazing land was possibly leased out on a fixed

rent. *Hullu hana* is most probably the same as *Hullu sarati hana* mentioned in an inscription from Srirangapatna (*E.C.,* VI, Sr. 23). It is likely that the grazing lands were leased by rotation to different persons. Or, each person held the lease for a fixed period.

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86. *E.C.,* V, Tn. 16; III, Gu. 25; Ch. 1; IV, Hs. 32, VI, pp. 215.

87. *E.C.,* IV, Ch. 250, III, Gu. 80.

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89. *E.C.,* III, Gu. 202; V, My. 99; Tn. 16; VI, pp. 215; Wilks, *Hist.,* 1, p. 219; *Annals,* 1, p. 124; *QJMS.,* op.cit.

90. *E.C.,* VI, pp. 215; Wilks, op.cit., *Annals,* op.cit.; E.C., VI, Sr. 36.

91. *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire,* p. 169.

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93. *E.C.,* III, Gu. 202; Hg. 11; IV, Ch. 397; V, My. 29; VI, Sr. 24; *QJMS.,* op.cit.

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109. *E.C.,* V, My. 99. IV, Ch. 249, III, Gu. 25, 80, Hg. 17.

110. *E.C.,* V, My. 99; VI, pp. 216.

111. Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 122; *Annals*, 1, p. 148.

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115. *K.N.V.*, II, 68; VI, 63, 75; VII, 1.

116. *Ibid.*, VI, *Vs.* 65-79.

117. *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 218.

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119. *Annals*, 1, p. 110.

120. *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 250; *Q.J.M.S. Culture and Heritage No.*, 1956, p. 209.

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122. *Q.J.M.S.*, *op.cit.*

123. *E.C.*, V, My. 99; VI, pp. 169, *K.N.V.*, VI, 54-65.

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126. *E.C.*, III, Gu. 80; Wilks, *Hist.*, 1, p. 122; *Annals*, 1, p. 124.

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134. *E.C.*, IV, Ch. 250.

135. *Annals*, 1, p. 125.

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CHAPTER VIII

ART AND CULTURE

The Wodeyar rulers also gave much encouragement for artistic talents in the kingdom. The royal patronage contributed very much for the popularisation of the art of the land. It created in the minds of the people a sense of love and respect towards their cultural heritage. As a result, the period made some progress in the different fields of art. The static spell which spread over the artistic life in many parts in South India in the years following the battle of Talikota, was lifted in Karnataka by the encouragement given by the Wodeyar rulers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The study of Art during this period may be made under the following heads namely, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and other minor fine arts like Music, Dance and Drama. Let us make a brief survey of the artistic activities of the period under each of these heads.

(A) Architecture

Architecture under the Wodeyar may be subdivided into three divisions namely (a) Religious Architecture; (b) Secular or Civil Architecture and (c) Military Architecture.

(a) Religious Architecture

Under religious architecture we have a few temples that were erected during the period. In these temples the Vijayanagar Style is most conspicuous. The temples built in Mysore during the Wodeyar rule are 'Simpler and tinier editions' of the temples of the Vijayanagar period. They can challenge no comparison with the latter group. This is because the kingdom of Mysore was a small part of the empire of Vijayanagar which included almost the whole of South India. A small kingdom like Mysore could not afford to build such huge temples like those of the Vijayanagar period. Though the temples attributable to the early Wodeyar period are small, they are quite modest and provide a continuing link to the architectural tradition of the land.

The temples under the Wodeyars were also built of granite like those of Vijayanagar period. But, they lack many of the features which characterised the Vijayanagar temples. Basically the pillars used in the Mysore temples under the Wodeyars are dwarfish. This is obvious as these temples and the pillared halls are smaller in size than the temples of the Vijayanagar period. Secondly, the *Kalyana Mandapa* which was the most characteristic feature of a Vijayanagar temple is very rarely seen in the temples of the Wodeyar period. Even if it is seen, it is neither so embellished not so conspicuous as the one we see in the Vijayanagar temples. The Mysore temples never contain those vast pillared halls which we find in the temples of the Vijayanagar period. In the pillars of the front halls *(Navaranga)* of the Mysore temples we very rarely come across the caryatid. (the soldiers riding over the rampant horse) or the hyppogryph (the *Gajasimha motif).* No doubt we see this style of ornamentation, on the pillars of the front hall of the Paravasudeva temple at Gundlupet and the open verandah *(Navaranga)* of the Venkataramana temple in the fort at Bangalore. But, these examples lack the grace and vigour of the figure sculpture noticed in the *Vyala* pillars of the Vijayanagar temples at Hampi. Another lapse in the Mysore temples is that the basements of these temples are mostly plain except the Venkataramana temple at Bangalore. In Vijayanagar temples this portion is invariably decorated with intricate carvings. Neither the capital of the pillar nor the corbel below this member in the Mysore temples, bears any ornamentation. This part is usually plain barring aside a very few examples like those in the Venkataramana temple in the fort at Bangalore. Here, the capitals are of the pendant bracket type. The eaves of the temples of the Mysore period are usually single curved and plain unlike those of the Vijayanagar period which are not only multi curved but also bear intricate decorative designs on their under side. A comparative study of the Mysore temples under the Wodeyars with those of the Vijayanagar period shows that the temple architecture under the early Wodeyar rule in Mysore has no special characteristic features of its own to be classified as a separate style. It is in fact a decadent or a degenerate style of architecture of the Vijayanagar period. Normally the door-way of the main shrine of the Mysore temples bears very fine ornamentation. The door frames usually bear the Ganga Yamuna motif and a beautiful scroll design while the lintel bears the Gajalakshmi motif. We see such fine ornamentation on the door-way of the vestibule of the Lakshmiramana temple in the fort at Mysore and on the door-way of the main sanctuary of the Paravasudeva temple at Gundulpet. These are really very good works of art. The entrance gate way of the Mysore temples also usually bears the Ganga Yamuna figures. This decorative motif seen on the entrance gateway of the Trinesvara temple at Mysore belonging to the period of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar is by far, the best. In its style and execution it resembles the southern gate way of the Vithala temple at Hampi. The main entrance of the Gangadharesvara temple at Srirangapatana, which belongs to the Wodeyar period, is also beautiful and elegant in style.

Apart from building new temples, the Wodeyars of Mysore renovated or amplified the existing one by the addition of tall entrance towers, pillared halls and similar, other subordinate structures. The earliest of such structural activities in Mysore is the entrance gateway set up by Raja Wodeyar to the Lakshmiramana temple in the fort at Mysore.[1] During the reign of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I were constructed the inner and outer enclosure walls of the temple of Ranganatha and the tower of the temple of Gangadharesvara at Srirangapatna. During this reign were also set up the Panchalingas in the Gangadharesvara temple at the same place. He also renovated the temple of Venkataramana at Karighatta and erected the steps to that hill.[2] Among other acts of piety of this ruler are the construction of a large bathing ghat to the south of the Trinesvara temple at Mysore and the addition of a pillared verandah to the latter temple. He also erected a spacious *Kalyana Mandapa* behind the temple of Lakshmiramana at Mysore.[3] During the reign of Doddadevaraja Wodeyar was made the addition of a stone pavilion to the Trinesvara temple at Mysore where also were set up a monolithic pillar and a seven storeyed entrance tower.

Among the temples built during the early Wodeyar period may be mentioned the Venkataramana temple at Karighatta built by Raja Wodeyar and the Narasimha temple built by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar at Srirangapatna. To the next stage belong the Paravasudeva temple at Devanagara, Venkataramana in the fort at Bangalore, Gopalakrishna (Apratima Rajagopala) at Haradanahaḷli and Varadaraja at Varakod - all built in the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. Let us make a brief study of some of these temples in order to have an idea of the temple architecture under the early Wodeyar rule in Mysore.

The Narasimha temple at Srirangapatna is one of the earliest of the temples belonging to this period. This temple is said to have been constructed by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar.[4] Originally it possessed an entrance tower (of Seven storeys which is now lost). The temple has a sanctum, an ablong vestibule connecting the sanctum and the main hall and a many pillared entrance hall. The sanctum is raised on a basement with four cornices ornamented with a frieze of retrospectant lions. The temple was originally provided with an open circumambulatory path. But at a later date a circumambulatory *(prakara)* wall was added thus converting the open circumambulatory path into a dark path. This is the largest extant temple of the early Wodeyar period in Mysore. It resembles in structure and organisation a mature Vijayanagar temple.

Next in date comes the Paravasudeva temple. It is on the bank of the river Kaundini at Devanagara (Gundlupet). This temple was built Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in 1674 in memory of his father Doddadevaraja Wodeyar.[5] It is a fairly large structure and is facing west. It contains the main shrine, a covered circumambulatory path, a vestibule or the *Sukanasi* and a cross shaped entrance hall *(Navaranga)* with a cell to its north and south. Originally it contained in its front, a porch which has now disappeared. This porch is said to have been removed and rebuilt in front of the Vijayanarayana temple in the same town. To the left of the Paravasudeva temple is a separate shrine for the Goddess Kamalavalli the consort of Paravasudeva.

The *Devanagara copper plate grant* gives us a description of this temple. it is said to have contained a sanctum, a pavilion, a circumambulatory path and a lofty tower.[6] The temple rises on a narrow platform which bears no ornamentation. The exterior walls of the sanctum are also plain except for a few ornamental turret bearing pilasters here and there. The *Navaranga* pillars are ornamented with "three cubical mouldings connected by sixteen sided cubical shafts". On each of these mouldings is seen an image depicting the different incarnations of Vishnu and some other figures such as Hanuman, Nandi, Ganesha and so forth. One such figure seated on a couch in high relief is identified as Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar the builder of the temple.

The door ways bear fine ornamentation. The door way of the sanctum is decorated with the Ganga and Yamuna figures standing on their vehicles the crocodile and the *Makara* respectively, each flanked by a *chauri* bearer. Besides, on either side of the entrance is a dvarapala under a storeyed nich. On the lintel of the door way is Gajalakshmi. The door frame bears beautiful scroll design. "The original porch in front of the Paravasudeva temple, now in front of the Vijayanarayana temple is a decent structure about 24'x20' borne on 12 pillars the front four ones being of the *Yali* type bearing in-front the *Gajasimha* motif or brackets of warriors riding on furious lions rearing over the backs of elephants". Dr. Krishna described this temple as "a fairly good specimen of early Mysorean architecture".[7] The temple is now very badly damaged and has lost much of its original features.

Another notable temple of the period is the temple of Venkataramana in the fort at Bangalore. It was constructed by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. This is proved by a lithic record belonging to A.D. 1705.[8] It is said that this temple was built by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to Commemorate his acquisition of Bangalore.[9] If it is so, it is later in date than the Paravasudeva temple which was built by the same ruler in 1674. In composition the Venkataramana temple differs from the Paravasudeva temple in a few respects. First, while the front hall *(Navaranga)* of the Paravasudeva temple is closed on all sides excepting the Western entrance, that of the Venkataramana, is an open one. Secondly the cells to the north and south of the front hall *(Navaranga)* which we notice in the Paravasudeva temple are absent in the Venkataramana temple. Besides the ornamental Dravidian pillars of the lion bracket type, we have for the first time in the *Navaranga* pillars of the Venkataramana temple projecting minor pillars also. This is another distinctive feature of the Vijayanagar pillars. Such composite pillars are not to be seen in any other extant temple of the Wodeyar period. The capitals of the *Navaranga* pillars in the Paravasudeva temple are plain. But those in the Venkataramana temple are of the Vijayanagar type with drop pendants.

The Venkataramana temple consists of the main shrine or the sanctum, two *Sukanasis* or the vestibules connecting the main hall and the sanctum and a *mukha mandapa* which is a *navaranga mandapa* of nine *ankanas.* The *Navaranga* basement is ornamented with beautiful rope design which is reminiscent of the basement mouldings of the Vithala temple at Hampi. The outer wall of the sanctum is adorned by a row of Sculptures depicting Vaishnavi, Brahams, Vishnu and Siva (on their vehicles), the *Rudras,* the *Dikpalas,* the *Saptamatrikas,* Siva as *Kalyana sundara* and so on. To the left of the main temple within the temple enclosure is the shrine of the Goddess Alamelu, the consort of Venkataramana, while in the south-western corner stands a shrine of Hanuman. The tower *(Vimana)* which rises over the sanctum is of brick construction without any special features.

Another temple belonging to the period of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar is that of Apratima Rajagopala at Haradanahalli in Chamarajanagar taluk.[10] The exact date of its construction is not known. On stylistic grounds it comes closer to the Paravasudeva temple at Gundlupet. The temple has a sanctury, a vestibule, a *Navaranga* and a *mukha mandapa.* But the cells to the north and south of the main hall *(Navaranga)* which are noticed in the Paravasudeva temple are absent here. This temple has also a dark circumambulatory path. The basement mouldings are plain without any ornamentation. The exterior walls of the sanctum are ornamented with turret bearing pilasters in high relief. The pillars in the *mukha mandapa* of this temple with their octagonal shafts and cubical mouldings resemble those in the Paravasudeva temple. The eaves below the ceiling are plain and single cut. The steps leading to the *Mukha mandapa* are flanked by a balustradinal elephant carved in round. The tower or *Vimana* is of brick and mortar. The main image in the temple is that of Venugopala. It is a fine piece resembling Hoysala Workmanship.

Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar is said to have built at Srirangapatna a temple for the image of Sveta Varaha which he brought from Srimushna.[11] It is said to have been built to the right of the king's palace in the capital. But the temple is now completely ruined and no traces of the same are available.

The above survey of the temples under the Wodeyars in Mysore reveals that these temples exhibit no special characteristic features or any geographical peculiarities of their own like those built by the Nayak rulers at Madura. At Madura the Nayak rulers who were the contemporaries of the Wodeyars rulers in Mysore further carried the Vijayanagar architectural style and created temples with huge entrance towers, large pillared halls *(mandapas)* and so forth. But the temples built in Karnataka during the same period cannot lay claim to any such great artistic or architectural distinction. These artistic productions under the Wodeyar rulers deserve attention for the sole reason that the kings of Mysore kept alive the art traditions of the country. Achyuta Rao observes that while those temples built and embellished by the Nayaks are said to belong to the "Nayak Phase" (H.Goetz), the artistic remains of the Wodeyars of Mysore may be said to belong to the "Mysore Phase" of Vijayanagar style.[12]

(b) Secular or Civil Architecture

Civil architecture under the early Wodeyar rulers is represented by the remains of cities, places, the reservoirs, aqueducts and so on built during the period. We have an account of the capital Srirangapatna left to us by the contemporary writers. - both indigenous and foreign. Govinda Vaidya gives us a good description of the city, as he saw it in the first half of the 17th century. His account is, to a great extent, substantiated by the testimony of Cinnami, the jesuit Missionary from Italy who visited Srirangapatna in 1638 A.D. According to these accounts, the city of Srirangapatna with its enclosure walls and deep moats was a well planned one with well laid out streets, bazaars and public gardens. On either side of the road leading to the palace were storeyed mansions of the princes, ministers and other officers of the State.[13] While these officers dwelt in the vicinities of the palace the houses of other persons were located in the interior of the city. These houses fell into several groups, arranged according to profession and the status of the persons in the social order.[14] About Srirangapatna Cinnami writes, "It is surrounded by three walls and three moats. There are inside great buildings and splendid palaces. When looked at from a distance, the towers, galleries and other wonderful things appear as if they were the works of Europeans".[15] He observes further "Inside there are rich temples with curious and costly ornaments. The streets are broad covered with lime bricks. Inside the city there is a vast square and another three outside where rich merchants offer all kinds of wares for sale. The houses are big and fit for a most populous and large city"

The kings's place to the right of the Ranganatha temple at Srirangapatna was a handsome structure. Govinda Vaidya gives us a good description of this building. The palace was surrounded by a massive enclosure wall ornamented with spikes.[16] On each of its four quadrants the palace had a storey or tower decorated with figures depicting scenes from *Bharata, Bhagavata* and *Ramayana* and sculptures of various birds and animals.[17] There were several apartments in the palace like the *Hiriya Hajara* which contained the icons of several divinities. Its ceiling was canopied with filgreed silk cloth. The other apartments were picture gallery *(Chitra Sale) Lakshmi Vilaasa, Durga Mantapa, Sharada Mantapa* which contained murals illustrating scenes from *Girija Kalayana, Bhuvanesvari* which was ornamented with several pillars with brackets (*Bodige*), Theatre *(Nataka Sale), Indira Mandira, Bangara Chauki, Madana Vilasa, Soundarya Nilaya, Vijaya Bhavana,* Dining hall *(Bhojana Sale),* Treasury *(Bokkasa),* armoury *(Ayudha Sale)* and so on. There were separate apartments for the royal ladies and the courtesans.[18]

The splendour of the court became more pronounced during the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704). He used to conduct his *durbar* in the court hall of the palace *Soundarya Nilaya.* It was decorated with a richly ornamented entrance *(Dvara),* pillars with well designed brackets (*Bodige*), beams *(tole),* masonry walls *(bhitti)* and so on. The description of the palace which, to a great extent, resembles the present palace at Mysore was apparently designed after the palace of the king at Vijayanagar. For, we see striking similarities between the description of the palace at Hampi as given by Paes and the account of the king's palace at Srirangaptna as described by Govinda Vaidya. From the contemporary literary accounts it appears that the palace at Srirangapatna was in the Indo Saracenic style. It is now completely ruined. Probably it was built of wood and other perishable materials.

Apart from the king's palace we have certain huge reservoirs, water conduits, canals, aqueducts and underground channels which were charactreristics of culture and civilisation of Mysore during the period. The Narasambudhi tank built by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar in Nanjangud, the Bangaradoddi aqueduct with its vast net work of Undergournd water Supply ducts in Srirangapatna, the Chikkadevaraja and the Devaraja channels and the bridge across the Kaveri river at Srirangapatna are a few examples of civil architecture of a utilitarian character. These works not only show the interest taken by these rulers in such public works but also exhibit the engineering skill of the people of those days.

(c) Military Architecture:

The only examples of military architecture of the period are the forts *(kote* or *Durga).* They served as the means of defence against aggressions. In Karnataka many of the ancient and medieval towns had such defence walls with one or two entrances. Such fortification was essential in olden days owing to the in-secure conditions of the period. Under the *Nayankara* system during the Vijayanagar period, every provincial governor or the vassal of the emperor had to subscribe to the latter a certain quantity of armed forces in times of war. Besides this, the feudal lord had also to maintain peace and order in his own province and defend his territory from external threats. As a result, many of the important provinces acted as military centres of the empire during the Vijayanagar period. Several places which were of strategic importance were provided with forts. We see the remains of such defence walls in many ruined towns in Karnataka. The capital also had a fort.

These forts may be grouped under three categories namely (1) Hill fort *(Giridurga)*, (2) Island fort (Jaladurga), (3) fort built on land *(Bhu durga)* and some times surrounded by a dense forest *(Vanadurga)*.[19] The fort at *Savanadurga* is a good example of a hill fort. The fort at Srirangapatna is a typical example of an island fort. The forts at Bangalore and Mysore may be cited as examples of land forts. The fort at Jadakanadurga (Devarayanadurga near Tumkur) is a fine example of a fort encircled by a forest *(Vanadurga)*. Some times the fort also acted as a town with bazaars and well laid out colonies for various communities living within it. Father Cinnami writes that the capital Srirangapatna was encircled by three lines of fortification and three moats.[20] Govinda Vaidya also gives us a fine description of the fort at Srirangapatna and names its different parts. Some of these parts are:

(1) *Tene.*[21] Spike above the rampart.

(2) *Kottala.* [22] Bastion. The fort was usually provided with a bastion on each of its four corners.

(3) *Mugilattane.* A lofty platform inside the fort. This was an independent structure possibly meant for the guards to have a view of the movements of the enemy at a distance. This structure mostly resembles a bastion and is is identical with the *upriburz* in Bijapur.

(4) *Denkani.* This is described as a flag staff. Krishna Sharma says that the *Denkani* acted as a flag staff under normal conditions but could be used as a weapon of defence during wars.[23] From the context in which Govinda Vaidya mentions this, it seems to be a deadly weapon.[24]

(5) *Agalu.* Trench.[25]

(6) *Alveri.* Rampart.[26] (7) Hulimukha.[27] The main entrance of the fort.

(8) *Bagila Sajje.* The guards quarters at the entrance of the fort.

(9) *Ambugandi.*[28] These are narrow holes in the spike of the fort from where the defenders would shoot arrows on the enemy outside the fort. These are similar to the musket holes.

(10) *Diddi.*[29] A narrow passage in the fort through which the residents would fetch water from outside.

(11) *Chorakandi.*[30] It is another small opening in some insignificant part of the fort meant for the defenders to escape unseen by the enemy whenever necessity would demand.

(12) *Suranga.*[31] An underground passage in the fort from where the defenders would get out to save themselves in the event of a danger. These underground passages also were used to be blasted to counter the Operations of the invaders above during a siege.

These forts were normally built of well dressed huge blocks of stone. We see the use of mortar as a binding material. A few forts were also built of mud.

Sculpture:

Like architecture sculptural art of this period also cannot be stated to be in such a flourishing condition as it was in the Chalukyan or the Hoysala period. We have a few images in stone and bronze assignable to this period. These works also throw some light on the Society and religion in Karnataka during the early Wodeyar rule. A few of these works are the beautiful image of Lakshmi set up by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I in the Narasimha temple at Srirangapatna.[32] and the sculptures of Dakshinamurti, Kshetrapala, Kumarasvami, Surya and so on installed by the same ruler in the corridor *(prakara)* cells of the Trinesvara temple at Mysore,[33] the images of Paravasudeva and his Consort Kamalavalli set up by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the Paravasudeva temple at Devanagara[34] (Gundlupet) and the beautiful sculpture of Rajagopala (Venugopala) in the Apratima Rajagopala temple at Haradanahalli[35] are some good examples of sculptures of this period. Some of these sculptures like the images of Kshetrapala and the *Vinadhara* Dakshinamurti in the Trinesvara temple at Mysore are rare specimens and are of much iconographic significance as well..

Among the animal sculptures, the two monolithic bulls one set up by dalvoy Vikramaraya in the entrance hall *(mukhamandapa)* of the Srikanthesvara temple at Nanjangud in 1644[36] and the other by Doddadevaraja Wodeyar on the Chamundi hill at Mysore are good examples.[37] In their well proportioned bodies, lustrous polish and exuberant ornamental details these sculptures are reminiscent of some of the best works of the Hoysala period.

Apart from the above sculptures we have also some relief sculptures representing the devotional Statues *(Bhakta Vgraha)* of some of the rulers of the period. These rulers were connected either with the construction or renovation of the respective temples where these sculptures are found. We have one such figure of Raja Wodeyar about 1-1/2' high standing with folded hands on one of the pillars in the main hall of the Narayana temple at Melukote.[38] A similar statue of him about 2' high is to be seen to the right of the enclosure wall in the Lakshmiramana temple at Mysore.[39] Likewise, we have the devotional images of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar and Devaraja Wodeyar in the pavilion of the Trinesvara temple at Mysore. Another relief sculpture of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar is seen on one of the pillars of the front hall *(Navaranga)* in the Paravasudeva temple. This figure is deeply cut and represents the king as seated on a couch reclining on a round pillow.[40] Another bas-relief on one of the pillars in the entrance porch of the Vijayanarayana temple at the same place, is also traditionally believed to represent Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. These relievos are crude and are not of much artistic significance. They may be said to belong to a deteriorating style with poor standards.

In the art of metal sculpture the bronze devotional image of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar in the Narasimha temple at Srirangapatana with his name inscribed on the pedestal,[41] the beautiful figure of Dakshinamurti set up in one of the cells in the pavilion of the Gangadharesvara temple in the same place by *Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya[42] and the images of the 63 Saiva saints set up by the same donor in the temple of Srikanthesvara at Nanjangud are very good examples of metal sculptures of the period.[43]

Painting:

If in the realm of architecture and sculpture the Wodeyar dynasty could not produce such works of beauty or grandeur that may be compared with those of the preceding centuries, the dynasty has made significant contributions in the other fields of art. In their court flourished painting, music, dance, drama and so on. Painting may be said to be in a flourishing condition during this period. Several families of painters who migrated to Mysore on the fall of Vijayanagara were rehabilitated by Raja Wodeyar in various parts of his kingdom including Srirangapatna. Here he is said to have built the temple of Nimishamba devi the tutelary deity of the painters.[44] While describing the king's palace, Govinda Vaidya the court poet of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, mentions the picture gallery *(Chitra sale)* which contained paintings dealing on different subjects like the *Bharata, Bhagavata* and so on.[45] In the *Sharada Mantapa* another apartment in the palace, there were murals depicting scenes from *Girija Kalyana.*[46] These paintings have unfortunately not come down to us. But, from the account of the royal poet it appears that the kings of Mysore continued the tradition of painting in Karnataka and greatly encouraged this art.

We have certain extant mural paintings near Mysore which are very interesting for out study. These paintings are noticed in the Anilesvara or the Divyalingesvara temple at Haradanahalli in Chamarajanagar taluk. Though this temple is detable to the 15th century, numerous additions seem to have been made to it till about the 18th century. At the back of the temple there stands a row of cells with a long corridor in-front. This portion appears to have been constructed during the early Wodeyar rule. The extant paintings which are found on the ceiling and beams of the front corridor are worthy of study. On stylistic considerations these paintings may be assigned to the 16th century A.D. Dr. Tipperudraswami attributes these murals to the early Wodeyar period.[47] This ascription is substantiated by an epigraph on a lintel of one of these cells which records the consecration of the God Kalahastisvara (to the west of the shrine of Anilesvara) in the year 1655.[48] Unfortunately most of these paintings have been very much damaged since the entire corridor is leaky. What have survived are mostly fragments; but they are good and may be said to from an important chapter in the history of painting in Karnataka.

Among the visible ceiling panels commencing from the right are Panchamukha Siva, Umamahesvara, Andhakasura Murti, Gajasamhara Murti, a full bloomed lotus, Lakshminarayana group, Rajarajesvari, Siva riding on *Nandi* and so forth. Of all these works that of Siva as Gajasura on the fifth ceiling *(ankana)* is in a fairly good state of preservation. After killing the elephant demon Siva is standing on the head of the demon. The whole group is vigorous and full of life. The composition is encircled by a beautiful scroll which has enriched the quality of the paintings.

The beams have some interesting scenes from *Bhagavata, Bharata* and *Sivapuranas.* On the beam of the first ceiling are standing Ganesa, Lakshminarayana, Umamahesvara, Gopi churning curd and being teased by Krishna, *Navanita* Krishna, Gajalakshmi, Venugopala and Arjuna shooting arrow at Siva. On the beams of the second ceiling are gods and demons churning the ocean, Siva slaying Andhakasura, the horse headed Tambura playing on the drum, Brahma with cymbals in his hands, a god with flute, another with drum, *Ashtadikpalakas* and devotees worshipping a Linga and so forth. On a beam of the fifth ceiling we see a snake charmer playing a musical pipe *(pungi)* while a cobra has opened up its hood. The scene is curiously being watched by a monkey standing on its hind legs. On another beam we notice the episode of *Gopivastrapaharana* while on the next is seen Kannappa offering his eyes to Siva. A beam on the eighth ceiling depicts Venugopala and Gopi each playing on a lute *(Vina)*

These paintings are highly graceful in form and expression. In their technique and style they come very near to the late Vijayanagar paintings and it is very likely that the Mysore craftsmen under the early Wodeyars continued the work from where the Vijayanagara painters left it. it may be stated that the art of painting under the early Wodeyar rule provides a connecting link between the Vijayanagar and the last phase of painting in Mysore in the 18th and 19th centuries. This phase of painting in Karnataka under the early Wodeyar rule is called the *Mysore School of Painting.*[49]

Music:

The Wodeyar rulers were munificent to the art of Music as well. Music was one of the most interesting items of the cultural programmes in the *durbar* of the king, in the Dasara festivities and on similar other occasions. Govinda Vaidya tells us that in the court of Kanthirava Narasaraja Woderyar there were courtesans who were experts in Music.[50] The kings of Mysore not only patronised music, but were also themselves good musicians. Music was one of the subjects taught to the princes earmarked for succession to the throne in Mysore in those days.[51] These rulers had therefore a good knowledge of music both in theory and practice. Chamaraja Wodeyar V (1617-1637) was a good musician and a lutist.[52] Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I was also a great lover of music.[53] Govinda Vaidya tells us that this king had in his court women musicians who were experts in vocal and instrumental music *(Gayakiyaru, Gamakis, Bharatis)*, lutists *(Vainikaru)* and so on.[54] The contemporary literary works mention some musical instruments of the period, like the tamburi *(Tambura)*, lute *(Vina)*, Cymbal *(Tala)*, *Mridanga (Maddale)*, *Mukha Vine* and so on.[55] We have also some epigraphical records of the period which mention the five musical instruments *(Pancha Vadyagalu)* like the flute *(Venu)*, lute

(Vina), Cymbal *(Tala)*, *Mridanga (Maddale)* and the *Tamburi (Tambura)*.[56] Govinda Vaidya also mentions the flute *(Kolalu)* and another kind of musical pipe the *nagasvara (Nagasara)* and so on.[57] Many of these musical instruments can also be noticed in the paintings in the Divyalingesvara temple at Haradanahalli which belong to the early Wodeyar period. Another musical instrument of the period was *pungi* a musical pipe used by snake charmers for playing the snakes. This is seen in one of the paintings in the Anilesvara temple at Haradanahalli and in a sculpture on one of the pillars in the front verandah *(mukha mandapa)* of the temple of Apratima Rajagopala in the same place. Govinda Vaidya mentions some of the musical notes or tunes *(raga)* also and the musical measures or the beating time in music *(tala)* that were in vogue in Mysore in the first half of the 17th century. Among the musical tunes *Gamaka* and the *Battisa* appear to be very popular.[58] Govinda Vaidya refers to *Suladi* which was a common form of musical tune (*raga*) in these days.[59]

Karnataka music received great patronage in Mysore during the period of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. This ruler was not only a liberal patron of music but was also an accomplished musician. It is said that he was an expert lutist.[60] His knowledge of music is borne out by some of the passages in the works on music like the *Chikkadevaraja Saptapadi, the Tripadagala tatparya* and the *Gita Gopala* which are attributed to this king.[61] In these works the author mentions a large number of musical tunes like the *Bhairavi, Kamboja, Kedaragauda, Shankara bharana, Vasantha Bhairavi, Devagandhari, Yadukula Kambhoji, Mohana, Panturavali* and so on, that were in vogue in Mysore in those days. In *Gita Gopala* itself we have nearly 30 tunes most of which are found in the *Battisa* and the *Chattisa* styles of the *Haridasas* (worshippers of Vishnu who recite his exploits with music and chanting). In these songs we also come across many of the musical measures *(Tala)* which we now notice in the Karnataka music. The sixth *Saptapadi* in the first half of the *Gita Gopala* is entitled *Rupaka tala Saptapadi* after the *rupaka tala* in which it is composed.

Dance:

The kings of Mysore fostered the art of dance also. Dancing girls and the art of dancing were in-separable in the court life of Mysore in those days as in the preceding centuries. The contemporary writers give us a good account of the art of dance as it existed in those days. In the court there were women who were masters in this art (Natyavadhugalu, Nartakiyaru).[62] Govinda Vaidya tells us bout the stage, the dress and the make up of these dancers in the court of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I. Dancing was usually to the accompaniment of music and other musical instruments and was in conformity with the classical rules.[63] In all the cultural programmes like music, dance, drama and so on the courtesans took a leading part. From the contemporary literature we learn that these court ladies were experts in all fields of art *(Sarva Sastra Kovideyaru, Nana bageya Vidyegala Pravineyaru, Jotisa Kavya natakasastra Sangitariti Kovideyaru, Nanabageya Vidyadabaleyaru)*.[64] They were born artists who are some times even compared to the celestial dancers *Rambha* and *Urvasi*.[65] They worshipped or adored the art and are even idealised as the very incarnations of the Goddess of the art of dance *(Bharata Sastradideviyaru)*.[66] Honnamma the court poetess of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar also gives us a god picture of these courtesans and their attainment in music and dance.[67] The art of dance appears to be much popular in those days. It was practised both by commoners and people in the upper classes of the society. We are told that in the city of Srirangapatana there was a separate locality where-in resided scholars in music and dance who regularly trained up young girls in these subjects.[68] References to *Bharatacharya* and the technique of dancing as prescribed in the treatises on the subject like *Bharata sastra* and so on indicate that classical dance was in a very flourishing condition during the period.[69]

Apart from classical dance, some folk dances were also in vouge in those days. The stick dance or the *kolata* was very popular.[70] It was an important item in all the public functions and festivals. It was usually played by young girls carrying in each hand a little jewelled stick and moving in rhythmic steps to the accompaniment of drums. Other folk dances were the peacock dance, the parrot dance, the swan dance and so forth.[71]

Drama:

As an art, drama also continued to receive great encouragement during the early Wodeyar period. From the contemporary writers we understand that in the king's palace there was a separate theatre *(Nataka Sale)*.[72] As in the case of music and dance the courtesans took a major part in theatrical performances also. These ladies were experienced dramatists and were well educated in the other allied subjects like literature, dance and music also. *(Kavya nataka sastra sangitariti kovideyaru)*.[73] The subject matter of the drama was mainly drawn from the epics like *Ramayana, Maharabharata* and the *Puranas*.[74] But secular subjects were also common as we can understand from the drama *Ananga Vijaya Banah* Written by Shivaramakrishna Kavi of Vamalur. It was a social play in Sanskrit meant to be enacted on the occasion of the spring festival *(Vasantotsava)* of the God Vijayaraghava at Vamalur near Salem.[75] We have another Sanskrit play assignable to this period namely *Srirangaraja Tilaka Banah* of Avinasisvara a play meant for enactment on the occasion of the spring festival of Sriranganatha at Srirangapatna. Besides these plays we see there grew up some Kannada literature also on dramaturgy during the period. The earliest extant drama in old Kannada literature namely *Mitra Vinda Govinda* a proto-type of *Ratnavali* of Harsha also belongs to a this period. We have another Sanskrit play entitled *Chandrakala parinaya* written by Narasimha Kavi a protege of dalvoy Nanjarajaiya.[76] This drama which is in five acts occurs in the poet's *Nanjaraja Yashobhushana.* It was intended to be enacted on the occasion of the spring festival of Srikanthesvara at Nanjangud.

The enactment of such plays implies the existence of organised theatres. But, about them unfortunately little is recorded. But, we have in contemporary literature some stray references to certain technical terms on dramaturgy like the screen *(Kandapata, Javanike)*, Stage manager *(Sutradhara)* Jester *(Vidusaka)* and so forth which seem to suggest that the art of drama was in a high state of perfection in those days.[77] Though from the available evidences it appears that the art of drama was not very popular among the masses it was a good means of amusement and pastime to the fashionable section of the Society.

Yakshagana as a folk art also received much encouragement during this period. We have a few works on this subject both in Kannada and Telugu written during the period. Some of these works are *Chikkadevaraja Vilasamu* a Telugu work dealing on the life and achievements of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.[78] Another such dance drama was *Saundaresvarana yakshagana* written by Santavira Desika a Vira Saiva poet in the court of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-59).[79] *Padmavatiya Koravanji* or *Ramajanmamu* another *yakshagana* written by the Jaina poet Rayanna, son of Bommanna Kavi of Venupuri near Sravanabelagola also belongs to this period. in this work the poet mentions Krishnaraja Wodeyar of Mysore who may be either Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1714-1732) or Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-1766). As its name indicates, the work deals with the birth of Sri Rama.

In conclusion it may be said that the early Wodeyar rulers of Mysore were liberal patrons of art and their period witnessed an all-round development of the various branches of fine arts in the kingdom. In other words these rulers greatly encouraged the different branches of learning and art and kept up the cultural traditions of Karnataka.

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5. *E.C.,* V, My. 99;IV, II. 127-132; *Annals,* 1, pp. 137-39; *M.A.R.,* 1934, pp. 51-54.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *M.A.R.,* 1934, p. 54.
8. *E.C.,* IX (Old Edition), Bn. 118; *M.A.R.,* 1935, pp. 23-24.
9. Fazlul Hassan, *Bangalore Through the Ages,* p. 70.
10. *Annals,* 1, p. 140. It is said that there stood in this village the mutt *(Matha)* of Gosala Channabasava where Tontada Siddalingesvara was initiated in the tenets of the Lingayat faith. Chikkadevaraja is said to have demolished this temple and from the materials thus obtained built the Gopala Krishna temple (*Mys. Gaz., Vol.* V, p. 671). But this statement lacks corroboration.
11. *Annals,* 1, pp. 139-40.
12. Achyuta Rao, *Administration and Social Life under the Early Wodeyars* (University of Mysore-unpublished).

13. *K.N.V.*, VI, 35-38.
14. *Ibid.*, 40-62.
15. *The Jesuits in Mysore*, p. 3 (Prof. Cinnami's Report).
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17. *Ibid.*, 24-29.
18. *Ibid.*, VII, 25-48.
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21. *K.N.V.*, VI, 4-14.
22. *Ibid.*, 6.
23. *Kar. Jana Jivana*, op. cit.
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25. *Ibid.*, VI, 10.
26. *Ibid.*, 11.
27. *Ibid.*, 12.
28. *Ibid.*, XI, 137.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Annals*, 1, 90; *M.A.R.*, 1935, p. 59.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
34. *Annals*, p. 137. These images are now in the kirti Narayana temple at Gundlupet.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *EC.*, III, Nj. 14; *Annals*, 1, p. 61.
37. *Annals*, 1, p. 99.
38. *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 21 and 58.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
40. *M.A.R.*, 1934, p. 52.
41. *M.A.R.*, 1935, p. 58.
42. *EC.*, VI, Sr. 29.

43. *EC.*, III (Old Edition), Nj. 24-89.

44. *Traditional Paintings of Karnataka*, p. 19. This temple is still to be seen on the bank of the river Kaveri at Ganjam in Srirangapatana.

45. *K.N.V.*, VII, 31.

46. *Ibid.*, 34.

47. *Karnataka Samskriti Samikshe* p.749. Dr. Seshadri writes that these paintings belong to the late Vijayanagara period, M.A.R., 1947-56, pp. 40-41.

48. *EC.*, IV, Ch. 271.

49. *Traditional paintings of Karnataka*, p. 20.

50. *K.N.V.*, VII, 44.

51. *C.Vam.*, p. 184.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

53. *K.N.V.*, XXV, 13. He also bore the title *Sangita Sahitya Sastra Visarada.*

54. *Ibid.*, VIII, 25-26, 34-74, XXI, 122. *Chikkadevendra Vamsavali*, pp. 25-26, V. 133; *Kar. Jana Ji.*, p. 167.

55. *K.N.V.*; VIII, 33, 34, 59, 74, 75; IX, 61; XXI, 109, 113, 119, 120.

56. *E.C.*, XVI, *Tum. Dist. Suppl.* Vol., Gb 73; II. 50-51, Gb. 74, I 39.

57. *K.N.V.*, VI, 56; VIII, 19.

58. *K.N.V.*, VIII, 71. *Chikkadevendra Vamsavali*, V. 133; *Kar. Jan. Ji.*, p. 167.

59. *Ibid.*, 61; Mugali, R.S., *History of Kannada Literature*, pp. 316-317.

60. *C.Vam.*, p. 115, 116, 184. It is said that Chikkadevaraja named his lute as *Kalavati* after one of his consorts. (Basavaraj, *Tirumalarya Mattu Chikkadevaraja Wodeyaru*, p. 54).

61. *Chik. Sap.*, 2-4, 2-5, 4-5, 6-7, 7-6; *Gi. Go.* 1-6-6 and so on.

62. *K.N.V.*, VII, 55, 56.

63. *K.N.V.*, VII, 55-62; XXI, 114, 115; *Chikkadevendra Vamsavali*, pp. 25-26, V. 113.

64. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 5, 15; VII, 44; VIII, 81.

65. *Ibid.*, VIII,64.

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68. *K.N.V.*, VI, 176.

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70. *Ibid.*, VIII, 31, 32; IX, 62; XXI, 108-111; XXII, 32.

71. *Ibid.*, 65; XXI, 116.

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CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The rise of the early Wodeyars forms a fascinating chapter of Indian history. Their origin, rise, growth, consolidation and ascendency offer to a reflective mind interesting aspects which make the history of their rule unique in several ways. Politically, the continuance of a single dynasty in power from 1399 to 1947 with a break of only a few years ensured stability and progress. Whereas the whole of north was in turmoil because of too many changes too frequently, the south, and particularly Mysore under the Wodeyars, was free from that type of political upheavel. In other words the kingdom of Mysore was continuously in power from 1399 to 1947 with a break of only a few years during the usurpation of power by Haidar and Tipu. This continuance of a single dynasty in power for nearly 550 years gave to the kingdom internal peace and a settled government, whereas during the same period the north witnessed the rule of several dynasties like the Khiljis, the Syads, the Lodis and the Mughals. These frequent changes which were at times even marked by violence resulted in much political uncertainty and confusion in the north. Secondly, the liberal trend that arose in the South, which ultimately culminated in *Bhakti* movement, was destined to involve the whole of India in a new awakening which levelled down the barriers of caste, creed and class, and took the stand on the bedrock of humanity. Thirdly, the Wodeyar rule saw many political events of great importance shaping the history of the South. The discovery of the new sea route to India, the landing of Columbus in Calicut, the establishment of Portuguese power in Goa, the subsequent rivalry of the Dutch, the French and the English for the rich spice trade of India were all events taking place in the periphery of Mysore, which was sure to be dragged into the vortex of their affairs. Fourthly, the Mysoreans attracted the attention of the most powerful rulers of the time. The Vijayanagar Rayas, the Shahis of Bijapur, the Maratha rulers of Poona, and the Mughals from the north, particularly Aurangazeb, all had to deal with the Wodeyars, whose diplomacy, valour and shrewdness caused damage to them either by inflicting a blow in the battle field or by defeating their designs in the political arena. Finally, the Wodeyars were liberal in outlook, innovative in administration, cultured and generous in human relations, just and right in statecraft which made their rule an enlightened one.

Their role was a typical case study of the feudal age, when political loyalty depended upon the military strength of the leader. The Wodeyars never ignored the basic fact that in the struggle for survival even marginal superiority of their rivals was enough to bring down their entire edifice. They learnt also the lesson that a rising power could not rest content with what it possessed. It has to be constantly on the move for expansion, or else in the era of competition and warfare, the rivals would make heavy inroads particularly on the frontiers. Consequently, from the rise of the dynasty to its surrender to the British, the Wodeyars had no respite from military campaigns. They had either to take offensive measures to expand their kingdom, or undertake punitive measures to suppress the series of revolts or face the bigger challenge from their more powerful neighbourers, such as the Vijayanagar rulers, Bijapur and Golconda rulers, Marathas and the Mughals. Raja Wodeyar, Chamaraja Wodeyar, Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar, Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, were all men of great ability, who were not only equal to the challenge, but were also far superior to their rivals.

The political history of the time, therefore, is too full of military campaigns which gives us an impression that a good part of every Wodeyar's life was spent more in the battle-field than in the palace. In the period of ever shifting loyalties of the feudatories, rebellious mood of the principalities, ambitious designs of the hostile neighbours, and the challenging opportunities that lay before energetic Wodeyars, military actions seemed inevitable which helped Mysore rulers shape themselves as fine military leaders. Only one example is enough to substantiate the point. No less a military leader than Shivaji invades Karnataka in 1677, but with what results ? Chikkadevaraja defeats Shivaji in a sternly contested battle at Srirangapatna. Shivaji retreats from the field and acknowledges Chikkadevaraja as the undisputed master of Karnataka. History is aware of the greatness of Shivaji, whose name conjures up in one's mind thoughts of rare courage and bold designs. But such a leader succumbed to the Wodeyar ruler, a fact which is not much taken note of in history. Similar fate awaited the other Maratha chiefs. Ekoji was no match to Chikkadevaraja at the battle of Hosur near Sira where Yeshavant Rao was slain in the battle. Other Maratha Sardars such as Dadaji Kakade, Nimbaji and Jaitaji did not fare better in their campaigns. Dadaji and Nimbaji were captured alive in the battle near Mandya and were slain.

Having realised that the Marathas alone were unable to overpower the Mysoreans, Sambhaji sought the help of Basappa Nayaka of Ikkeri and the Qutub Shah of Golkonda to invade Mysore. In other words Mysore had become too powerful to be challenged single-handed even by the mightiest power of the time, the Marathas. They formed a triple confederacy and attacked but the result was no better. Chikkadevaraja inflicted a blow on them at Banavara in June 1682. This defeat dashed to the ground the Maratha ambition to establish their supremacy over Mysore.

But, the most interesting phase of Chikkadevaraja's policy lies in his relations with Aurangazeb, the emperor who heralded the downfall of a mighty empire. Here again Mysore has a different story to tell. there was no limit to the ambition of Aurangazeb, who was on a crusade to subdue every political unit and bring the whole of India under his control. Chikkadevaraja realised that there was no use rubbing shoulders with such a determined foe. When Bijapur, Gokconda, Maharashtra and good many other regions had all been overpowered, it occurred to Mysore ruler why test a power that had already been tested by others? To Chikkadevaraja discretion was a better part of valour. Moreover, the Marathas and the Bijapuris were the sworn enemies of Mysore who had been ceaselessly at its door. Here was an opportunity to reap double benefits in a single stroke. If the Mysore ruler were to align himself with the Mughal emperor, the traditional foes of Mysore would be checkmated, on one hand, and Aurangazeb, who would have in any case reduced Mysore in the event of any contumacy, would be won over as a friend, on the other.

It was a strategy of the highest order, reminiscent of Clive and Dupleix, who later changed the map of India. At a time when Sambhaji was periodically harassing the Mysoreans, and when the Nayaks of Madura, Jinji and Tanjore were contumacious, Chikkadevaraja realised that he should obtain the goodwill of Aurangazeb. Politics knows no principles. Ofcourse it has its own logic and principles which may be different from individual's moralism. In politics at times one has to sacrifice one's own policies according to circumstances in order to achieve one's objective. Hence Chikkadevaraja also deviated from his original policy of confrontation particularly in his relation with Aurangazeb moved by sheer instinct for self preservation, which ultimately yielded him the desired results. Chikkadevaraja volunteered his help to Aurangazeb for the siege of Bijapur and Golconda, and the mighty emperor did not feel it derogatory to accept help from a small fry. Aurangazeb probably liked Chikkadevaraja for the latter's anti Maratha policy. J.N. Sarkar quoting certain Persian manuscripts writes that "Chikkadevaraja was an enemy of Shivaji's home". The emperor therefore reposed some confidence in him and thought that Chikkadevaraja might be of much help to him in the South in his (emperor's) task of crushing the Marathas in the South. Wilks also writes of an "amicable settlement" and "a friendly intercourse" between Chikkadevaraja and Khasim Khan the general of Aurangazeb who represented Mysore to Aurangazeb as "a State which ought to be encouraged as a counter poise in the South to the dangerous power of the Marathas and although the conquest of Mysore was in the direct contemplation of this emperor, it was obviously his interest to postpone it so long as the Raja could be of use by being placed on the flank and rear of his enemies". It is possibly due to this factor that Aurangazeb did not hesitate to accept this small help coming from a small Raja. But the offer resulted in a historic event. The Sahis of the Deccan were finished, but Mysore was spread to play later a major role in the politics of the south.

Limitless advantages accrued to Chikkadevaraja as a result of his far-sighted policy. When Sambhaji again invaded Mysore in 1686, Aurangazeb sent his general Khasim Khan who reduced Tumkur and handed that over to Chikkadevaraja. Thus without moving his little finger Chikkadevaraja was able to ward off the danger from Sambhaji and gained Tumkur in the bargain. More than that, Mughal assistance emboldened Chikkadevaraja to seize Bangalore in 1687 and that was the biggest prize. Loss of Bangalore was a great blow to the Marathas and a booster to Chikkadevaraja.

Other advantages followed from the Mughal contact. In 1688 the Mughal reduction of Sira and the appointment of Khasim Khan as its Governor was a source of great relief to Chikkadevaraja, for the frontiers of Mysore were now in the hands of Mysore allies, who would check the periodical incursions of the Marathas. Preservation, consolidation, expansion and strengthening of any kingdom would depend as much on military strength as on political strategy. In aligning himself with Aurangazeb, Chikkadevaraja anticipated the Maratha resolve to make Mysore the safety-valve for their retreat in case the Mughals were to become too irresistible. Chikkadevaraja gave no chance for such a situation. Had he decided to fight against the Mughals as well at a time when the Marathas were giving him no respite, he would have incurred the hostility of two powerful enemies and the consequences would have been too dreadful. It was at such functions that the wisdom of a leader is tested, and by sheer instinct for self-preservation Chikkadevaraja decided to take just that step, and the only step, which was in his best interests. Chikkadevaraja happens to be perhaps the only Indian ruler who escaped confrontation with Aurangazeb and used him for his own advantage. Pleased with the loyalty of Chikkadevaraja Aurangazeb conferred on him the title of "Raja Jagadev" and issued a *farman* recognising the sovereignty of Chikkadevaraja over Karnataka.

It should be remembered that in the political vocabulary of that period, all legal authority over every part of India under the Mughal influence rested with the Mughals. Anyone who challenged this position incurred the wrath of the Mughals. Shivaji did not wish to accept this position and hence his confrontation with the Mughals. It was Akbar who had perfected this strategy of the concept of a loose federation in which there were directly ruled *Subas* and also princely States which owed allegiance to the central authority. From Akbar to Shah-Jahan, this system worked well with only minor frictions, but Aurangazeb disturbed the balance by his policy of over centralization. Any Raja who disobeyed Aurangazeb was severely punished. In such a situation, it was only the shrewd, timely and diplomatic move of Chikkadevaraja which prompted him to come closer to Aurangazeb. When the latter presented the former a royal seal with the inscription "Raja Chikkadevaraja Ahmed Shahi" which was to be stamped on all official documents and which was an acknowledgment of the Mughal overlordship, Chikkadevaraja had no hesitation in accepting it. Incidentally this seal was used for long, long time later, even after Mysore came under British paramountcy. Mysore Mughal relations certainly suggest a different pattern of aggression adopted elsewhere by Aurangazeb, and also of a different approach adopted by Chikkadevaraja from his normal approach of confrontation with his neighbours. Both realised where their interests lay and both tried to accommodate each other.

Yet another significant aspect of Mysore history, is the tendency to resort to the practice of divorcing *dejure* power from *de facto* power. In the 18th century it became a fashion all over India. Both in the Mughal and the Maratha courts the ministers were all powerful and the sovereigns were mere figureheads. Shah-Alam was almost in the hands of Nijaf Khan. The Peshwas usurped power from Shivaji's descendants only to be treated likewise by their ministers. No other State offered a better example of reducing the legitimate rulers to non-entry than Mysore, where Nanjaraj and later Haidar Ali came into prominence. This tendency is a feature of the declining phase. In the growth phase, sovereignty which is an inalienable absolute factor remains absolute, but in the declining phase it makes all sorts of compromises and permits others to rule by proxy. This was the bane of the 18th century politics which enabled shrewd commercial companies of the west to establish their political supremacy over India. The same tendency caused havoc in the history of Mysore as well, where the institution of *dalvoy* or the chief minister caused usurpation of all power reducing the Rajas to non entity. The *dalvoy* himself in his turn became so weak, that a *Nayak* or a soldier in his own army, Haidar, ultimately became the master of the whole of Mysore. It is from this point of view that the history of Mysore is interesting, as it illustrates the phenomenon of the feudal age that the character and the capacity of the rulers were the most decisive factors in the rise or fall of any dynasty.

The second part of this study which deals with administration, society, economy, art and culture offers us enough evidence to infer that the Wodeyars were aware of the basic elements of ancient political thought. The focal point of that thought was *dharma* which laid down the principles of *raja-niti.* The sovereign was to rule the land as a trust from God, but the character of Government was not theocratic. The priest was not the man at the helm of affairs. It was the Raja and his ministers who were supreme. The machinery was secular in essence and the religious term *dharma* was to be interpreted in the philosophical sense of righteousness. It was ethics and morality which was at the root of the *dharma* concept. It is true that the office of the priest existed and that the Raja did consult him, but the priest's role was more ritual than real. He was not the person whose advice was decisive. War and peace, law and order, policy and measures did not originate with the priests, nor were they implemented through the priests. The broad concepts of humanism, justice, welfare, dignity of labour, equity and fairplay do find a place in the religious texts, but they are all as much an internal part of the secular State as of theocracy.

Theocracy involves enforcement of religious law as ordained by God, which was not the case under the Wodeyars. They were the fountains of law and they were the enforces of law. But they had to function under a broad-framework, which was related to religious vocabulary of *dharma. Dharma* was only a guiding principle which said that anything non-righteous was ruled out. The watch-dog to judge whether it was righteous or not, whether it conformed to *dharma,* or not, was the priest. But the priest himself functioned under the pleasure of the king. The priest watched the mood, the whim, the fancy, the taste and the temper of the monarch, and decreed accordingly. There is hardly a case where the priest differed from the royal will. In other words, the priest was an useful instrument in the hands of the king, who used him to advance his own interests.

A question may arise where was the need for the priest, if he was non-functional. His presence was absolutely essential in the Indian context, just as monarchy is essential in the British context. We have to accept that religion and the priest are an integral part of Indian life and ethos. In India greater part of our literature is religious, because God belongs not merely to temples but also to every home. Every house has a *puja* room. God is the chief guest there where he is worshipped. In India the temples, the priests, the rituals and the rites have more significance than mere social followship. At the same time it is hardly true that the state was at any time tied to the chariot of religious dogmas. Social rigidities might have existed, but the Government as such was not bound to the dictates of any priest. On the other hand the priest had always been tied to the court where he moved with the winds of the time. In other words, the priest was required in the polity but he should respect the law of the land and pronounce whatever law the king declared was in conformity with *dharma,* although in reality it was so or not.

The priest performed such a function because the monarch was aware in a way of Rousseau's social contract. In other words, the king realised that he derived his authority from the people. That is, the real sovereign power rested with the people as Rousseau believed. Therefore, the king felt that he should not do anything contrary to *Dharma.* The priest on his part was sure that the king would never deviate from the path of *Dharma.* In other words the king's adherence to *Dharma* had become so conventionalised that the priest thought whatever the king did had the sanction of *Dharma.* The ruler derived his authority from the people on the implicit understanding that he would do good to the people and they would obey him. This was sanctified by a religious sanction under the injunction of *dharma.* The ruler retained the right to rule as long as he did good to the people and he forfeited his right the moment he ceased to perform that function. It was a religious obligation. The judge to declare whether the king was doing his job or not was the priest and the priest's verdict was essential to convince the people that ancient traditions were maintained. In other words, the ruler's sovereignty, although absolute, was yet subject to an abstract concept of *dharma,* whose interpretation rested with the priest's intelligence. It is a different point, if the priest's intelligence itself had been mortgaged to the king's court, where for his living he was prepared to pronounce even the worst crime of a king as a righteous deed under *dharma.* Indian polity is a complex affair, where what is said is not what is meant. The Wodeyars conformed themselves to these traditional patterns of political behaviour.

If the king had a free hand in the civil and military affairs, he was bound hand and feet in maintaining the social order of the time. Caste rigidities which persisted from time immemorial could not be touched. Social abuses such as caste distinctions, or *devadasi,* or child marriage or inhibitions on widows were oppressive but could not be removed, even if the Rajas were inclined to remove. The religious grip was more powerful in the social sector than in the political. The old order had a sanctity which nobody could touch or challenge. The priest in this respect was all supreme. He was wanted from birth to death, from cradle to grave. Consequently, the society was cut up horizontally into groups, castes, creed and class, where social mobility was totally absent. Birth decided the destiny. The majority were poor, down-tradden, ignorant, superstitious and condemned to live a wretched life for ever. Nothing but death would relieve them of their misery. The upper strata indulged in pomp and luxury. We have no evidence to say that Wodeyars took any measure to relieve this social order.

But medieval Karnataka was not without hope. It witnessed an upsurge from below. The *bhakti* movement heralded a new awakening. Many saints fought a crusade against caste rigidities. Bhakti songs of Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa and a host of other God- intoxicated souls stirred the imagination of the people. They preached a new creed for the dignity of man, a new order pulsating with love, hope, faith, sincerity and service and a new humanism leveling down the barriers of caste, creed and class. The literature of the time, particularly the *vachanas* of Veerasaivism heralding the dawn of a new social order, based on equality of man, dignity of labour, sincerity of soul and nobility of conduct, breathed a refreshing zeal for the purity of life. The attack was on the rotten system.

Medieval Karnataka could justly be proud of being a harbinger of a new era of humanism, liberalism, equalitarianism and devotionalism which the later saints of the north like Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, Mirabai and Ramdas so effectively propagated to bring about a radical change in the society. India had never seen since the time of Buddha a reformist movement of this type which was intended to upgrade the dignity of man. Emphasis was more on action, on service, on love and on devotion. Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, Madhvacharya, Basveswara, Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa, all had connections with Karnataka and all were mighty souls who gave new meaning to Indian spiritual thought. They brought it down from the realm of abstract speculative philosophy to the level of common man's understanding that religion in the simplest terms was "to do good, and be good". They attacked ritualism, formalism and lip service to God. They preached devotion to God and service to man. They stressed on action, on dignity of labour, on purity of thought and on goodness of deeds. Men or women rich or poor, high or low, all will attain bliss of God, if true devotion to God prompted them to purify their life. A new ethical order, a new code of conduct, a new hope for man's salvation and a new direction for religious pursuits were the aims and objectives of this movement, which had far reaching effects on the march of man towards progress.

Long before the Indian renaissance of the 19th century which produced reformers of the order of Swami Vivekananda who interpreted Indian culture in right perspective, there were hosts and hosts of religious teachers in medieval India (and also in medieval Karnataka) who taught the eternal truth of the brotherhood of man. These teachers stressed that unity of man and faith in God are of supreme value to man because they would help mankind usher from heterogeneity to homogeneity, from diversity to unity and from confusion to order. They would confer on man, equality, solidarity, brotherhood and freedom. Faith in God virtually amounts to man's faith in his own ideal nature. He has merely to suppress his lower self of greed, ambition, anger, hatred, pride, selfishness, jealousy and ignorance and elevate his higher self of faith and love in God. Faith in God means acceptance of God as the substratum of the entire universe, both animate and inanimate. God dwells in man. One should have only the inner eye to see Him. God is Infinite, Independent, Invisible, the Highest Radiance, the Supreme Joy and the Most Exalted Substance. God demands purity, sincerity, service, love and devotion. God answers your prayer, if performed with patience, trust, hope, faith and longing for Him. God can be realised with reflection, meditation, prayer, knowledge, service and devotion. The sum total of this *bhakti* movement was that man should act with justice and righteousness towards his brethren, because God's actions are always absolutely just and right. Man should never do wrong to others, because God never does this to anybody. Therefore, the connecting link between God and man is man's love for man. Since God loves man, and if man too loves man, man would be marching in the path of God. This is the message of the *bhakti* teachers of Karnataka, which had indeed a revolutionary impact on later times. This study and this conclusion ends with the note that the Wodeyar period was coterminous with this great movement.

APPENDIX I

THE TRADITION OF ALAMELAMMA

In Mysore polity kingship was hereditary and the king belonged to the elder branch inaugurated by Yadu himself. The eldest son usually succeeded his father as king. This law of primogeniture was strictly observed right from the foundation of the dynasty to the death of Raja Wodeyar. But succession to the throne received many checks after Raja Wodeyar. It is significant to note that this failure in the line of succession coincides with a curse said to have been implicated on Raja Wodeyar by Alamelamma the wife of Tirumala, the viceroy of Srirangapatna. According to the Mysore Palace Records Alamelamma went to Talakad along with her husband on the fall of Srirangapatna. Raja Wodeyar, at the instance of the priest of Ranganayaki the Goddess, sent for some jewels belonging to the Goddess in the possession of the viceroy's wife at that time, with a threat that the jewels would be taken from her by force if she did not surrender them at once. She refused to surrender the jewels on the score that they were her own and that she would often lend them for the decoration of the Goddess. Having said this and being afraid of her own safety she plunged herself in the whirl at Malangi. At the time of her death she is said to have pronounced a curse on the Mysore Rajas that the latter should be denied of heirs.[1]

Raja Wodeyar was very much distressed by this news and got a golden image of Alamelamma made and offered to it expiatory ceremonies in order to appease the angry spirit of this injured lady. Since then it is customary in the Mysore royal family to offer special worship to Alamelamma during the Dasara festivities. This tradition is not corroborated by any other contemporary evidence. Though unbelievable, it coincides with reality. For Raja Wodeyar lost his first three sons during his own life time subsequent to the imprication of this curse of Alamelamma. His last and the only surviving son Immadi Raja Wodeyar was a child of 4 years at the time of Raja Wodeyar's death. Succession to the throne of Mysore received great checks after Raja Wodeyar.

Ever since the foundation of the dynasty until the death of Raja Wodeyar in 1617 succession to the Mysore throne came in the line of Yadu without any interruption. After *Immadi* Raja Wodeyar (1637-1638) members from collateral line were selected. Sons of Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar and *Muppinadevaraja* Wodeyar (younger brothers of Raja Wodeyar) were selected to the throne as the main line ended after Immadi Raja Wodeyar, son of Raja Wodeyar. Succession in the collateral line also failed after Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1714-1732), son of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II. There after adoption became a regular feature.

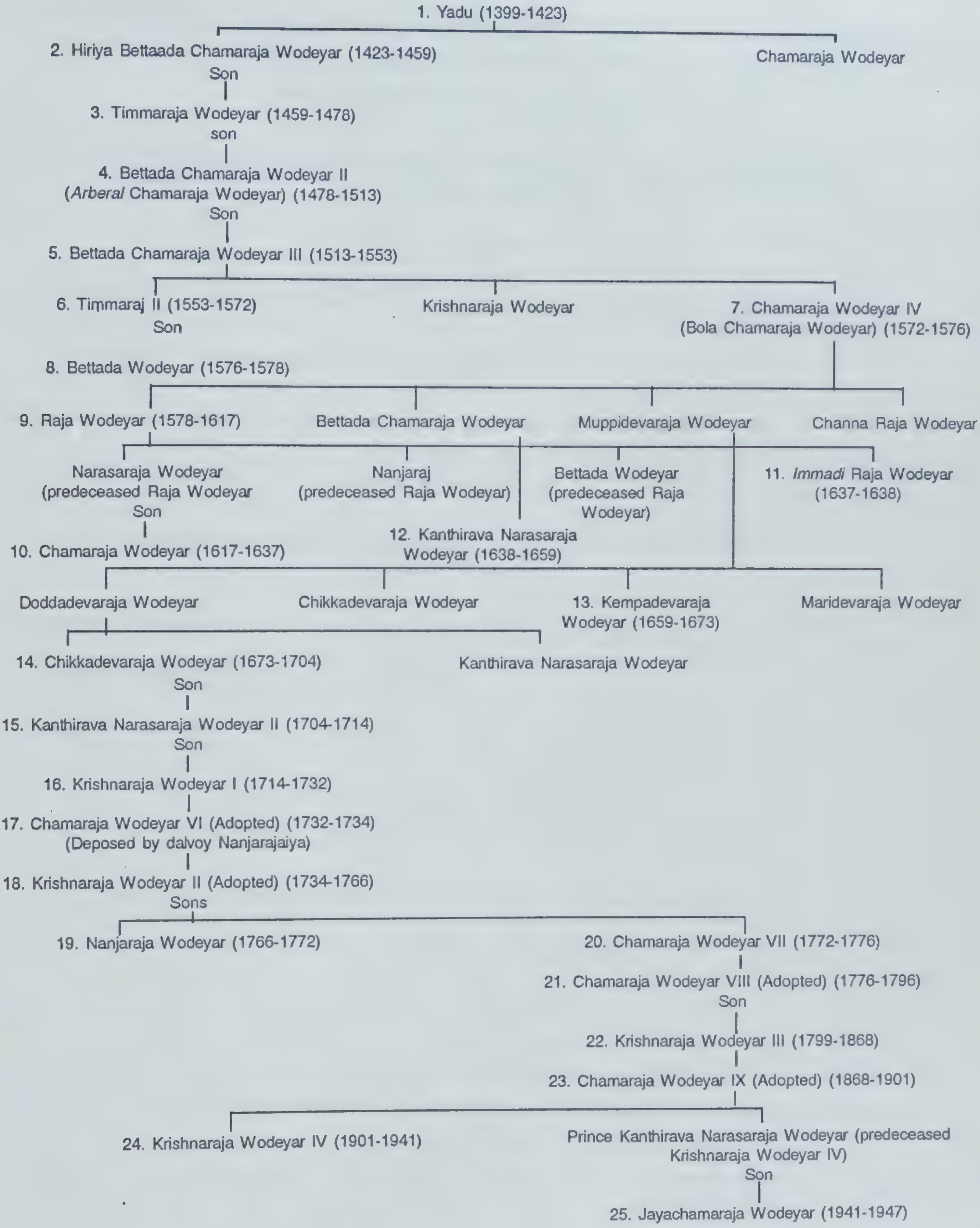
It is significant to note that while the Princes adopted to the Mysore throne usually bore children the latter as a rule suffered from sterile curse. None of the kings borne by the adopted rulers in the dynasty begot children. Jayachamaraja Wodeyar, the last ruler of the dynasty who succeeded Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV in 1941 no doubt bore heirs. But responsible government was already declared in Mysore in 1947 when the popular ministry assumed charge of administration. This meant the abolition of monarchy and the end of the Wodeyar rule in Mysore.

The genealogical table appended, gives us an idea of the checks that the succession received after Raja Wodeyar and the consequent adoptions to the throne. Viewed from the results, it seems as though Alamelamma's curse had a strong effect on the fortunes of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. This is also the popular belief even today in these parts.

REFERENCE

1. Alamelamma's curse may be rendered as follows:
"May Talakad be burried under sand,
May Malangi be a Whirl and
May the kings of Mysore have no male issue left.

GENEAOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE WODEYAR RULERS OF MYSORE

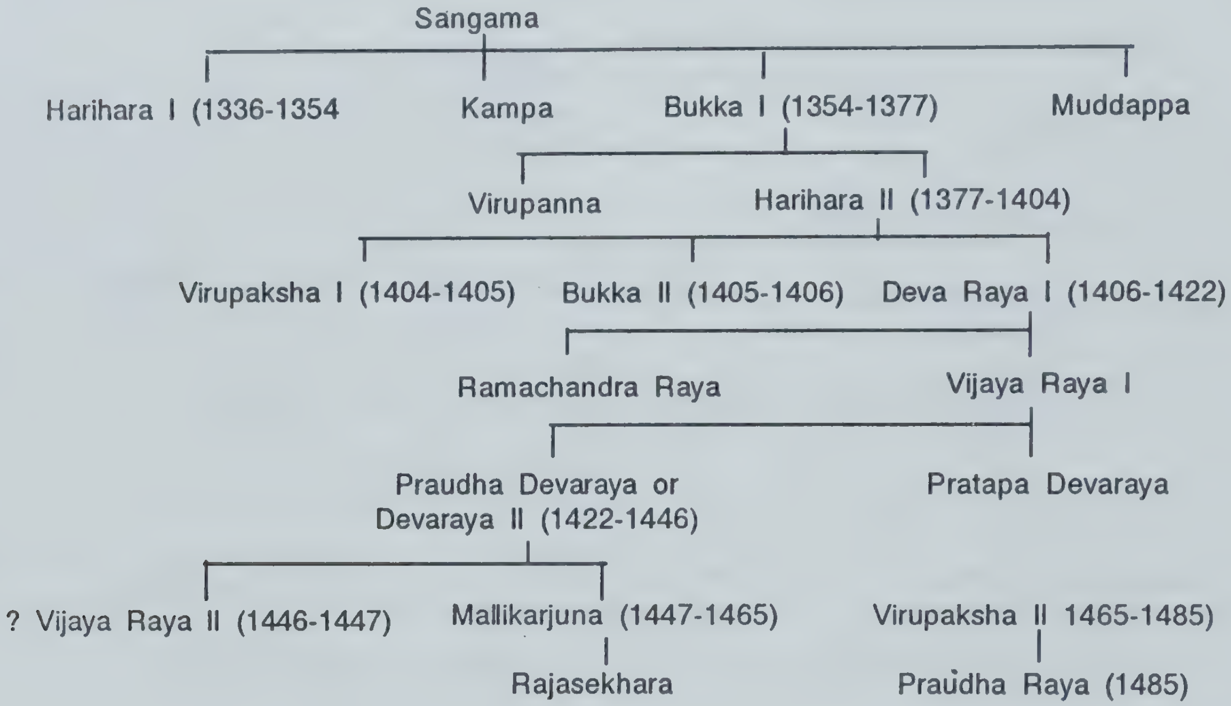

1. Yadu (1399-1423)
2. Hiriya Bettaada Chamaraja Wodeyar (1423-1459)
Chamaraja Wodeyar
Son
3. Timmaraja Wodeyar (1459-1478)
son
4. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar II
(*Arberal* Chamaraja Wodeyar) (1478-1513)
Son
5. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar III (1513-1553)
6. Timmaraj II (1553-1572)
Son
Krishnaraja Wodeyar
7. Chamaraja Wodeyar IV
(Bola Chamaraja Wodeyar) (1572-1576)
8. Bettada Wodeyar (1576-1578)
9. Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617)
Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar
Muppidevaraja Wodeyar
Channa Raja Wodeyar
Narasaraja Wodeyar
(predeceased Raja Wodeyar
Son
Nanjaraj
(predeceased Raja Wodeyar)
Bettada Wodeyar
(predeceased Raja
Wodeyar)
11. *Immadi* Raja Wodeyar
(1637-1638)
10. Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637)
12. Kanthirava Narasaraja
Wodeyar (1638-1659)
Doddadevaraja Wodeyar
Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar
13. Kempadevaraja
Wodeyar (1659-1673)
Maridevaraja Wodeyar
14. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704)
Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar
Son
15. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II (1704-1714)
Son
16. Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1714-1732)
17. Chamaraja Wodeyar VI (Adopted) (1732-1734)
(Deposed by dalvoy Nanjarajaiya)
18. Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (Adopted) (1734-1766)
Sons
19. Nanjaraja Wodeyar (1766-1772)
20. Chamaraja Wodeyar VII (1772-1776)
21. Chamaraja Wodeyar VIII (Adopted) (1776-1796)
Son
22. Krishnaraja Wodeyar III (1799-1868)
23. Chamaraja Wodeyar IX (Adopted) (1868-1901)
24. Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV (1901-1941)
Prince Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (predeceased
Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV)
Son
25. Jayachamaraja Wodeyar (1941-1947)

APPENDIX II

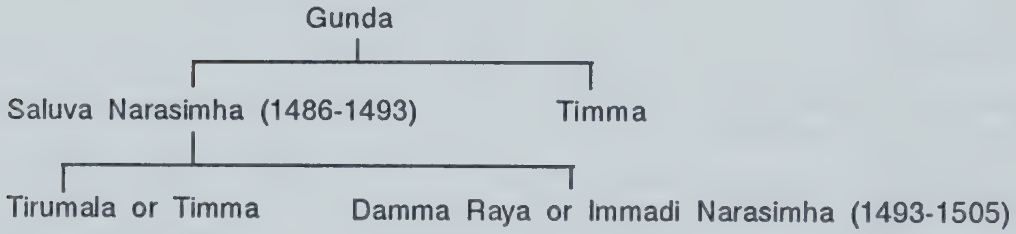
GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF THE CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES OF THE WODEYARS AND THE OTHER LOCAL CHIEFS WHO CAME INTO CONTACT WITH WODEYARS

(a) GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY

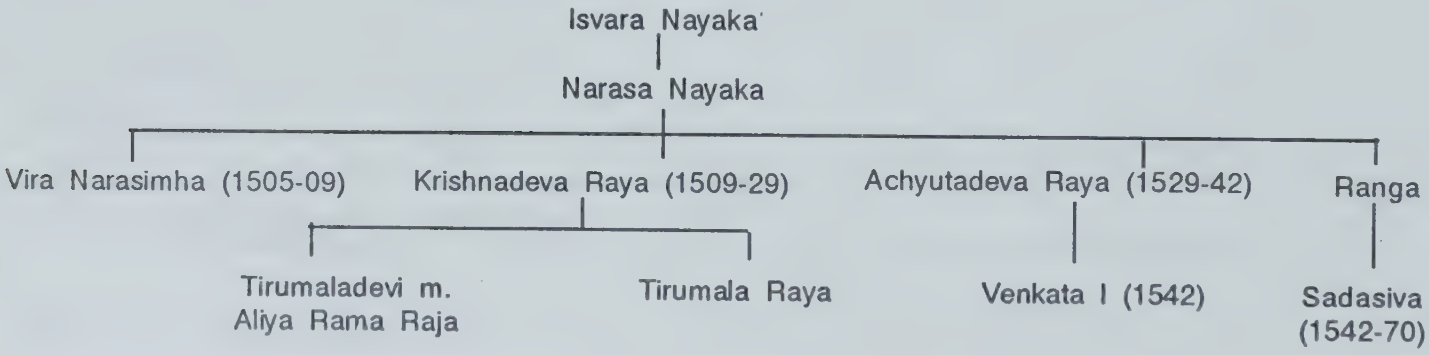
i. SANGAMA DYNASTY


Sangama
Harihara I (1336-1354
Kampa
Bukka I (1354-1377)
Muddappa
Virupanna
Harihara II (1377-1404)
Virupaksha I (1404-1405)
Bukka II (1405-1406)
Deva Raya I (1406-1422)
Ramachandra Raya
Vijaya Raya I
Praudha Devaraya or
Devaraya II (1422-1446)
Pratapa Devaraya
? Vijaya Raya II (1446-1447)
Mallikarjuna (1447-1465)
Virupaksha II 1465-1485)
Rajasekhara
Praudha Raya (1485)

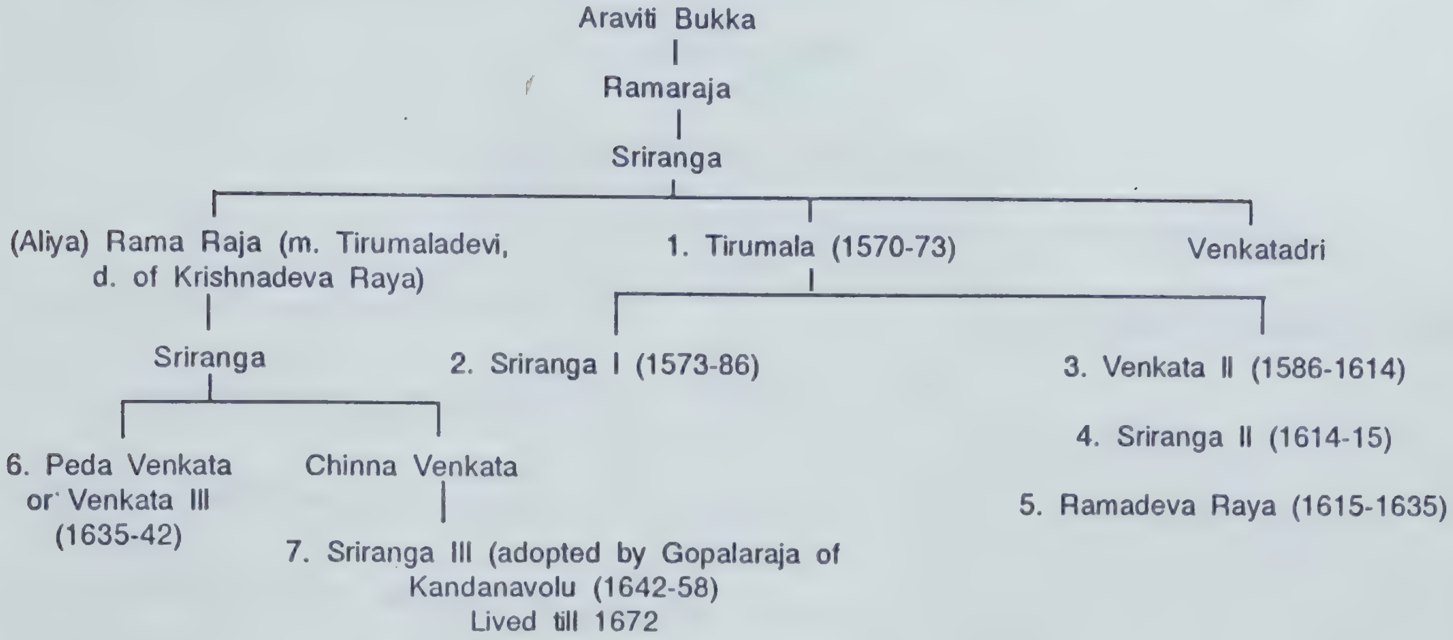
ii. SALUVA DYNASTY


Gunda
Saluva Narasimha (1486-1493)
Timma
Tirumala or Timma
Damma Raya or Immadi Narasimha (1493-1505)

iii. TULUVA DYNASTY

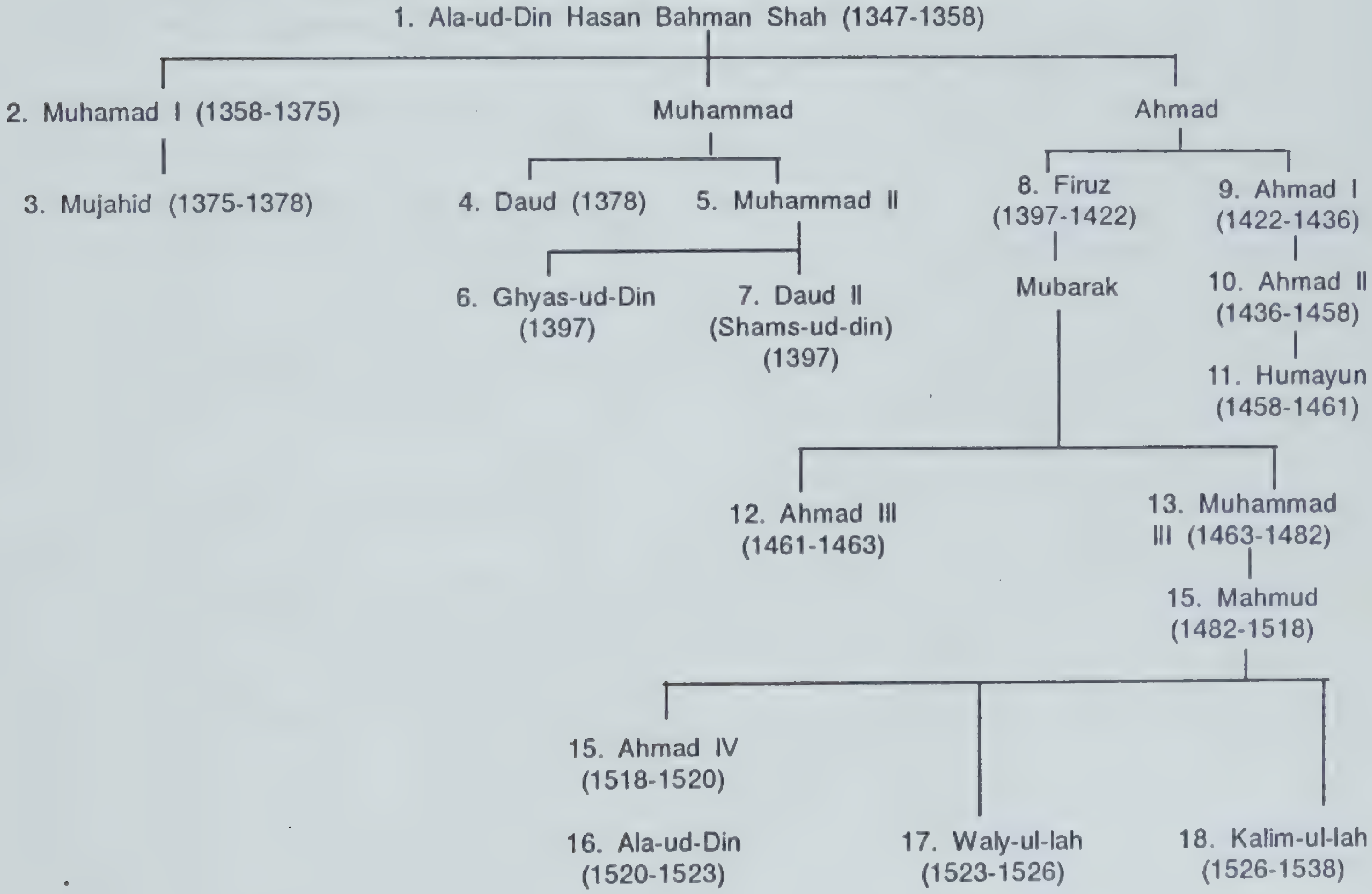

Isvara Nayaka
Narasa Nayaka
Vira Narasimha (1505-09)
Krishnadeva Raya (1509-29)
Achyutadeva Raya (1529-42)
Ranga
Tirumaladevi m.
Aliya Rama Raja
Tirumala Raya
Venkata I (1542)
Sadasiva
(1542-70)

iv. ARAVIDU DYNASTY


Araviti Bukka
Ramaraja
Sriranga
(Aliya) Rama Raja (m. Tirumaladevi, d. of Krishnadeva Raya)
1. Tirumala (1570-73)
Venkatadri
Sriranga
2. Sriranga I (1573-86)
3. Venkata II (1586-1614)
4. Sriranga II (1614-15)
5. Ramadeva Raya (1615-1635)
6. Peda Venkata or Venkata III (1635-42)
Chinna Venkata
7. Sriranga III (adopted by Gopalaraja of Kandanavolu (1642-58) Lived till 1672

1. Assassinated by his maternal uncle Salakaraju Tirumala whose tyrannical rule for a few months intervened between the reigns of Venkata I and Sadasiva

(b) GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BAHMANI RULERS


1. Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah (1347-1358)
2. Muhamad I (1358-1375)
Muhammad
Ahmad
3. Mujahid (1375-1378)
4. Daud (1378)
5. Muhammad II
8. Firuz (1397-1422)
9. Ahmad I (1422-1436)
6. Ghyas-ud-Din (1397)
7. Daud II (Shams-ud-din) (1397)
Mubarak
10. Ahmad II (1436-1458)
11. Humayun (1458-1461)
12. Ahmad III (1461-1463)
13. Muhammad III (1463-1482)
15. Mahmud (1482-1518)
15. Ahmad IV (1518-1520)
16. Ala-ud-Din (1520-1523)
17. Waly-ul-lah (1523-1526)
18. Kalim-ul-lah (1526-1538)

(c) ADIL SHAHIS OF BIJAPUR

1. Yusuf Adil Shal

2. Ismail Adil Shah (1510-1534)

3. Mallu Adil Shah (1534-1535)

4. Abrahim Adil Shal I (1535-1557

5. Ali Adil Shal I (1557-1580)

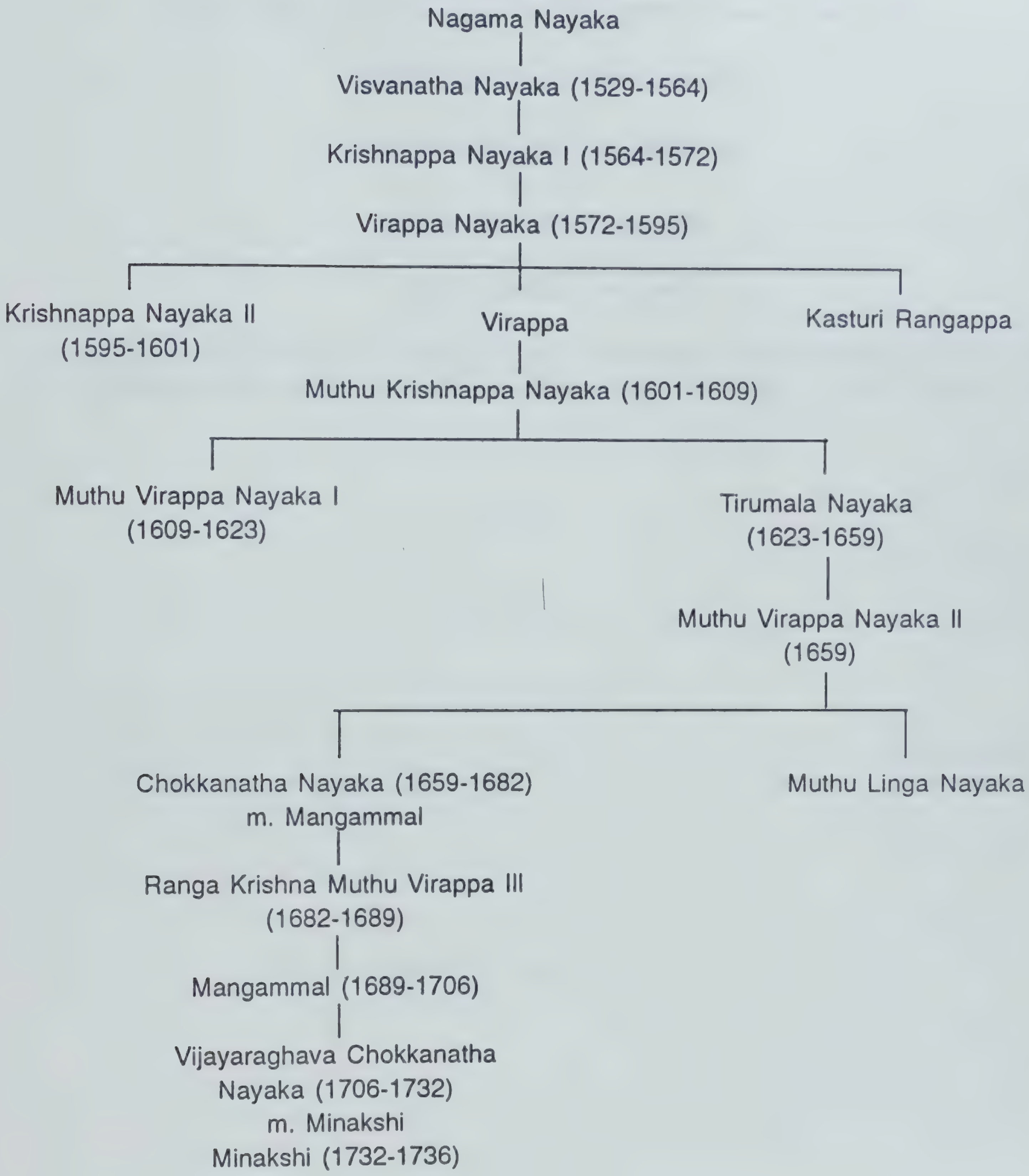
6. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1626)

7. Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656) Contemporary of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar of Mysore, Karnataka expeditions. Defeated Venkatadri Nayaka of Ikkeri. Captured the territory of Jagadevaraya, defeated Sriranga III of Vijayanagar in the Carnatic.

8. Ali Adil Shah II (1656-1672)

9. Sikandar (1672-1686)

(d) GENEALOGICAL LIST OF THE NAYAK RULERS OF MADURA

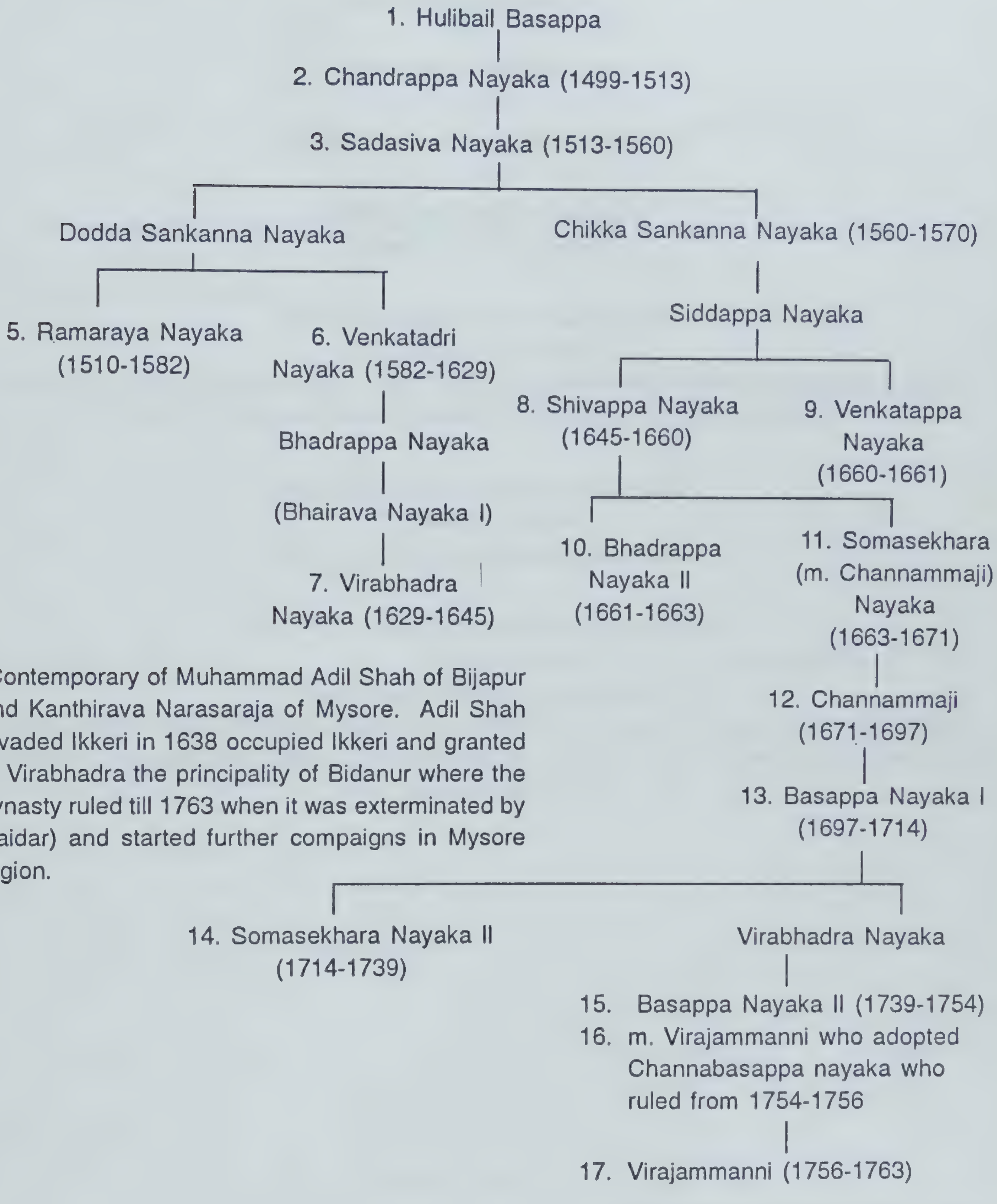

Nagama Nayaka
Visvanatha Nayaka (1529-1564)
Krishnappa Nayaka I (1564-1572)
Virappa Nayaka (1572-1595)
Krishnappa Nayaka II (1595-1601)
Virappa
Kasturi Rangappa
Muthu Krishnappa Nayaka (1601-1609)
Muthu Virappa Nayaka I (1609-1623)
Tirumala Nayaka (1623-1659)
Muthu Virappa Nayaka II (1659)
Chokkanatha Nayaka (1659-1682) m. Mangammal
Muthu Linga Nayaka
Ranga Krishna Muthu Virappa III (1682-1689)
Mangammal (1689-1706)
Vijayaraghava Chokkanatha Nayaka (1706-1732) m. Minakshi
Minakshi (1732-1736)

(e) NAYAKS OF TANJORE

Shivappa Nayaka (1549-1572)
(Appointed Governor of Tanjore by Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagar)
|
Achyutappa Nayaka (1572-1614)
|
Raghunatha Nayaka (1614-1640)
|
Vijayaraghava (1640-1674)
|
Changamala Dasa (1674)

(In 1674 Ekoji Occupied Tanjore and put an end to the Nayak rule in this Province. He also shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore where he inaugurated the Maratha rule).

(f) GENEALOGY OF THE NAYAKS OF IKKERI


1. Hulibail Basappa
2. Chandrappa Nayaka (1499-1513)
3. Sadasiva Nayaka (1513-1560)
Dodda Sankanna Nayaka
Chikka Sankanna Nayaka (1560-1570)
5. Ramaraya Nayaka (1510-1582)
6. Venkatadri Nayaka (1582-1629)
Siddappa Nayaka
Bhadrappa Nayaka
(Bhairava Nayaka I)
7. Virabhadra Nayaka (1629-1645)
8. Shivappa Nayaka (1645-1660)
9. Venkatappa Nayaka (1660-1661)
10. Bhadrappa Nayaka II (1661-1663)
11. Somasekhara (m. Channammaji) Nayaka (1663-1671)
12. Channammaji (1671-1697)
13. Basappa Nayaka I (1697-1714)
14. Somasekhara Nayaka II (1714-1739)
Virabhadra Nayaka
15. Basappa Nayaka II (1739-1754)
16. m. Virajammanni who adopted Channabasappa nayaka who ruled from 1754-1756
17. Virajammanni (1756-1763)

(Contemporary of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur and Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore. Adil Shah invaded Ikkeri in 1638 occupied Ikkeri and granted to Virabhadra the principality of Bidanur where the dynasty ruled till 1763 when it was exterminated by Haidar) and started further compaigns in Mysore region.

In 1763 Haidar sacked Bidanur which was included in the kingdom of Mysore

(g) GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CHIEFS OF MAGADI

Jaya Gowda (1418-1433)

Gidde Gowda (1433-1443)

Kempa Nanje Gowda (1443-1513)

Kempe Gowda I (1513-1569)
(Hiriya Kempe Gowda)

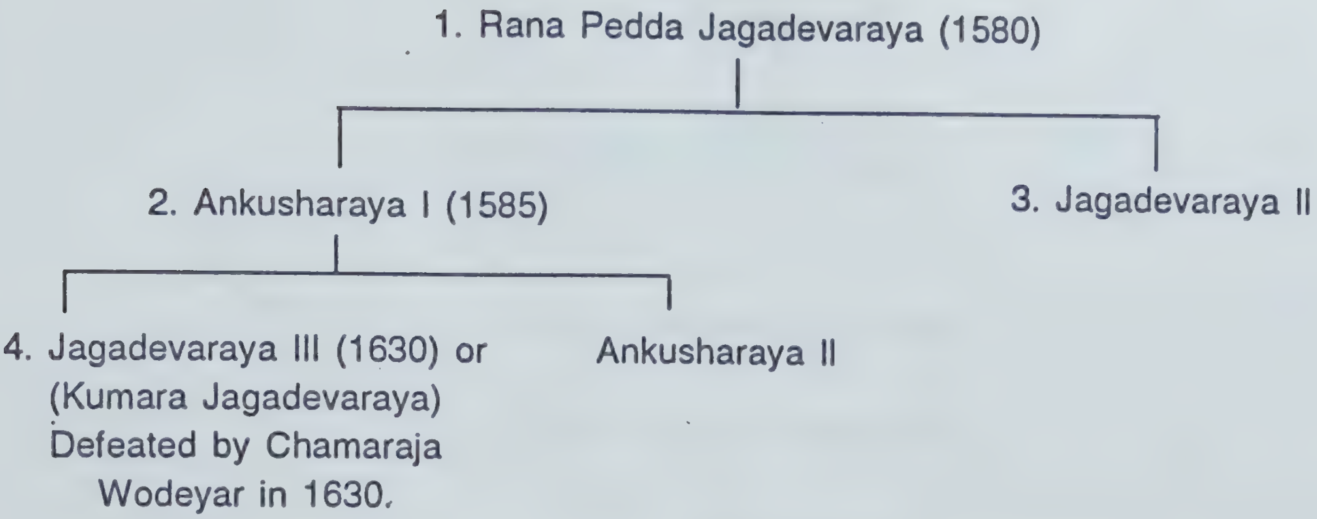
Immadi Kempe Gowda (1569-1658)
(Kempe Gowda II)
(Defeated by Ranadullah Khan in 1638. Rana Dullah occupied Bangalore and pushed Kempe Gowda to Magadi which was given to him as an estate)

Mummadi Kempe Gowda (1658-1678)
(Kempe Gowda III)
(Defeated Ekoji at Bangalore in 1658)

Mummadi Dodda Virappa Gowda (1678-1705)

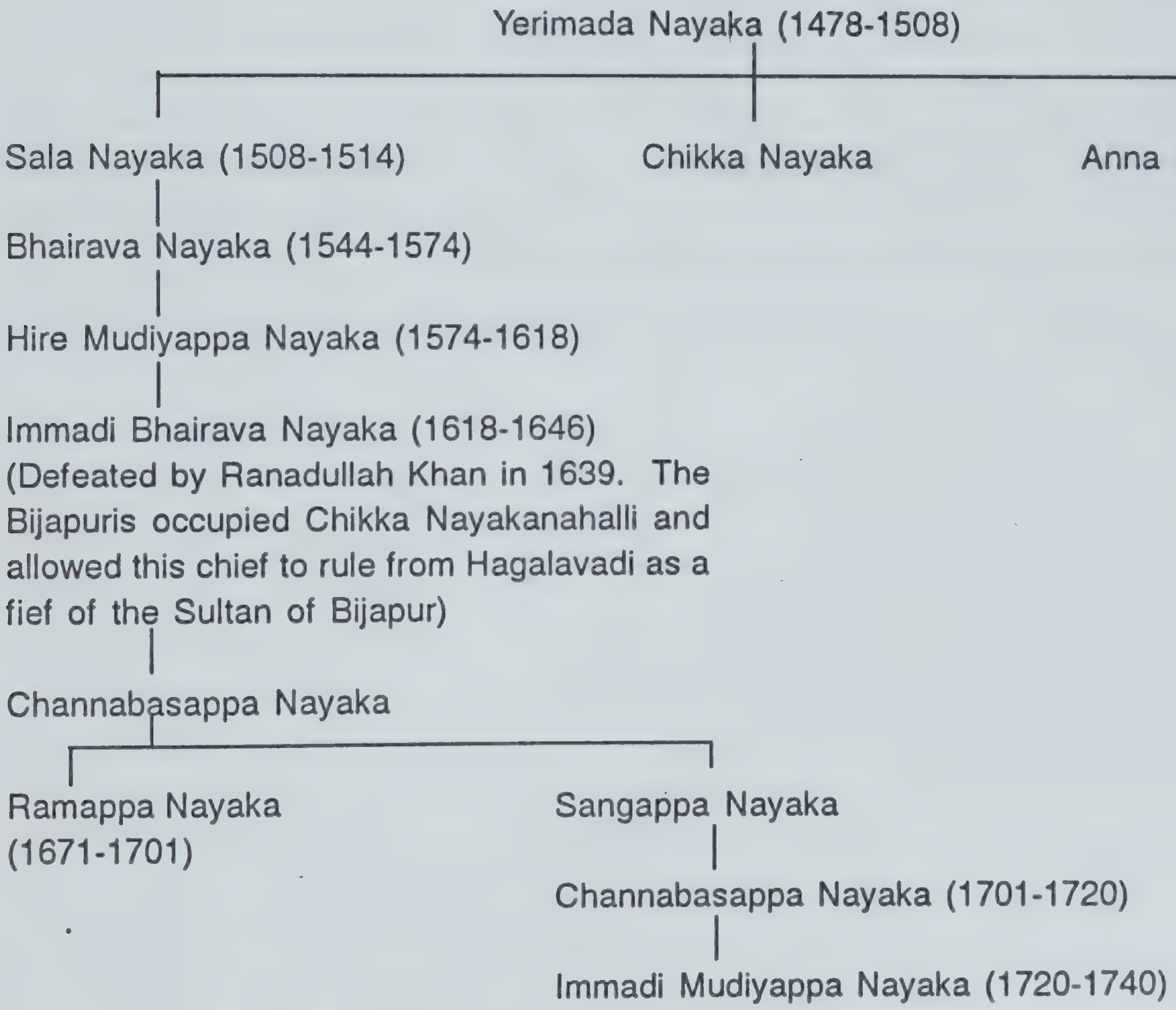
Mummadi Kempa Virappa Gowda
(Defeated by Krishnaraja Wodeyar I in 1728 when Magadi became a part of the kingdom of Mysoe. Gowda was imprisoned and kept in the State prison at Srirangapatna where he eventually lost his life)

(h) CHIEFS OF CHANNAPATTANA


1. Rana Pedda Jagadevaraya (1580)
2. Ankusharaya I (1585)
3. Jagadevaraya II
4. Jagadevaraya III (1630) or (Kumara Jagadevaraya) Defeated by Chamaraja Wodeyar in 1630.
Ankusharaya II

The above genealogy is drawn from the available epigraphical material and is only tentative.

(i) POLIGARS OF CHIKKA NAYAKANAHALLI (HAGALAVADI)

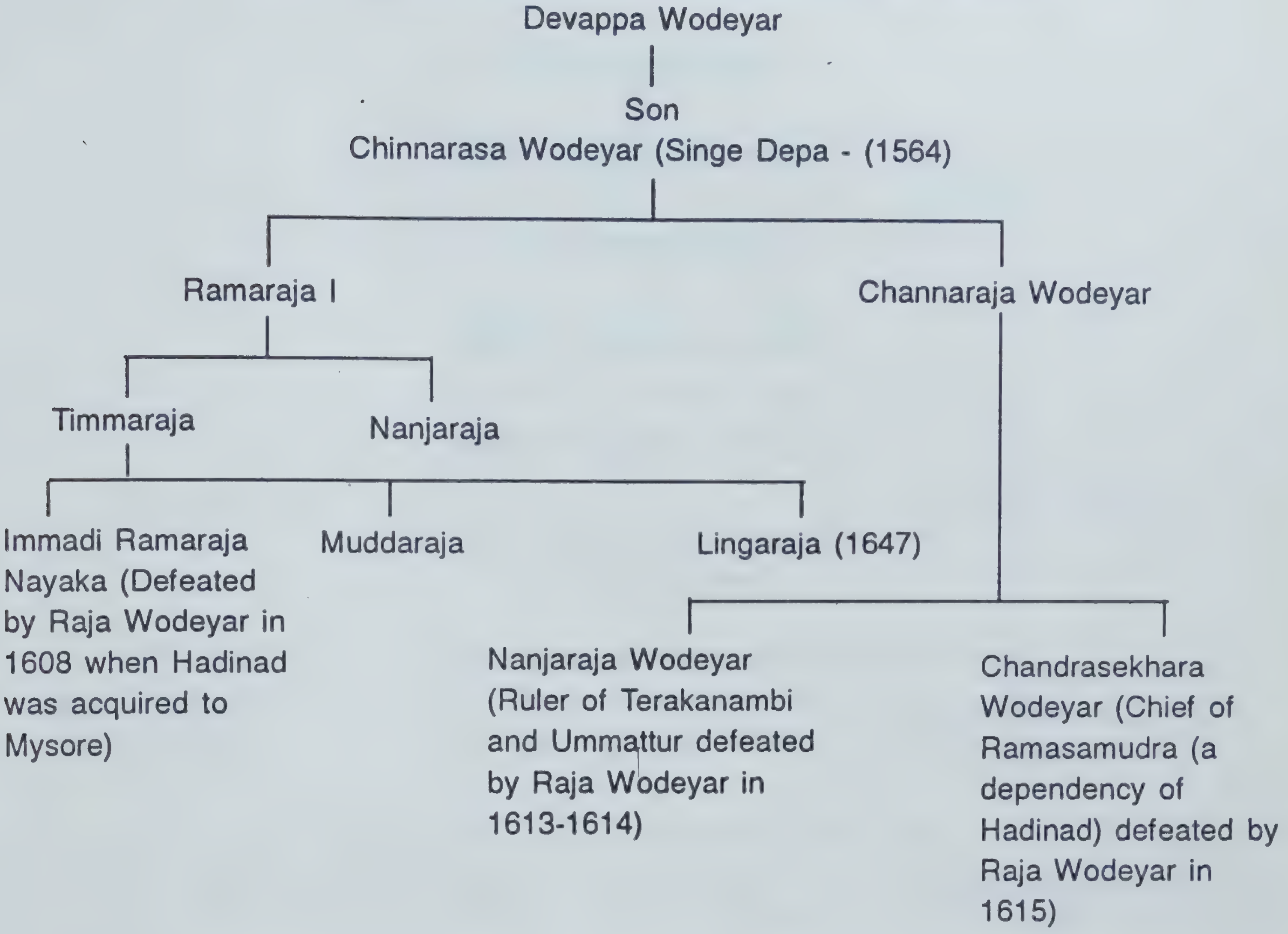

Yerimada Nayaka (1478-1508)
Sala Nayaka (1508-1514)
Chikka Nayaka
Anna Nayaka
Bhairava Nayaka (1544-1574)
Hire Mudiyappa Nayaka (1574-1618)
Immadi Bhairava Nayaka (1618-1646) (Defeated by Ranadullah Khan in 1639. The Bijapuris occupied Chikka Nayakanahalli and allowed this chief to rule from Hagalavadi as a fief of the Sultan of Bijapur)
Channabasappa Nayaka
Ramappa Nayaka (1671-1701)
Sangappa Nayaka
Channabasappa Nayaka (1701-1720)
Immadi Mudiyappa Nayaka (1720-1740)

(j) CHIEFS OF ARIKUTHARA (CHAMARAJA NAGAR)

Kamyappa Nayaka
|
son
Virappa Nayaka (1532)
|
son
Balalochana Nayaka (1569)
|
Channaraja Nayaka (1605)
|
son
Baloji Nayaka
|
(Defeated by Chamaraja Wodeyar in 1623 when this principality was annexed to Mysore)

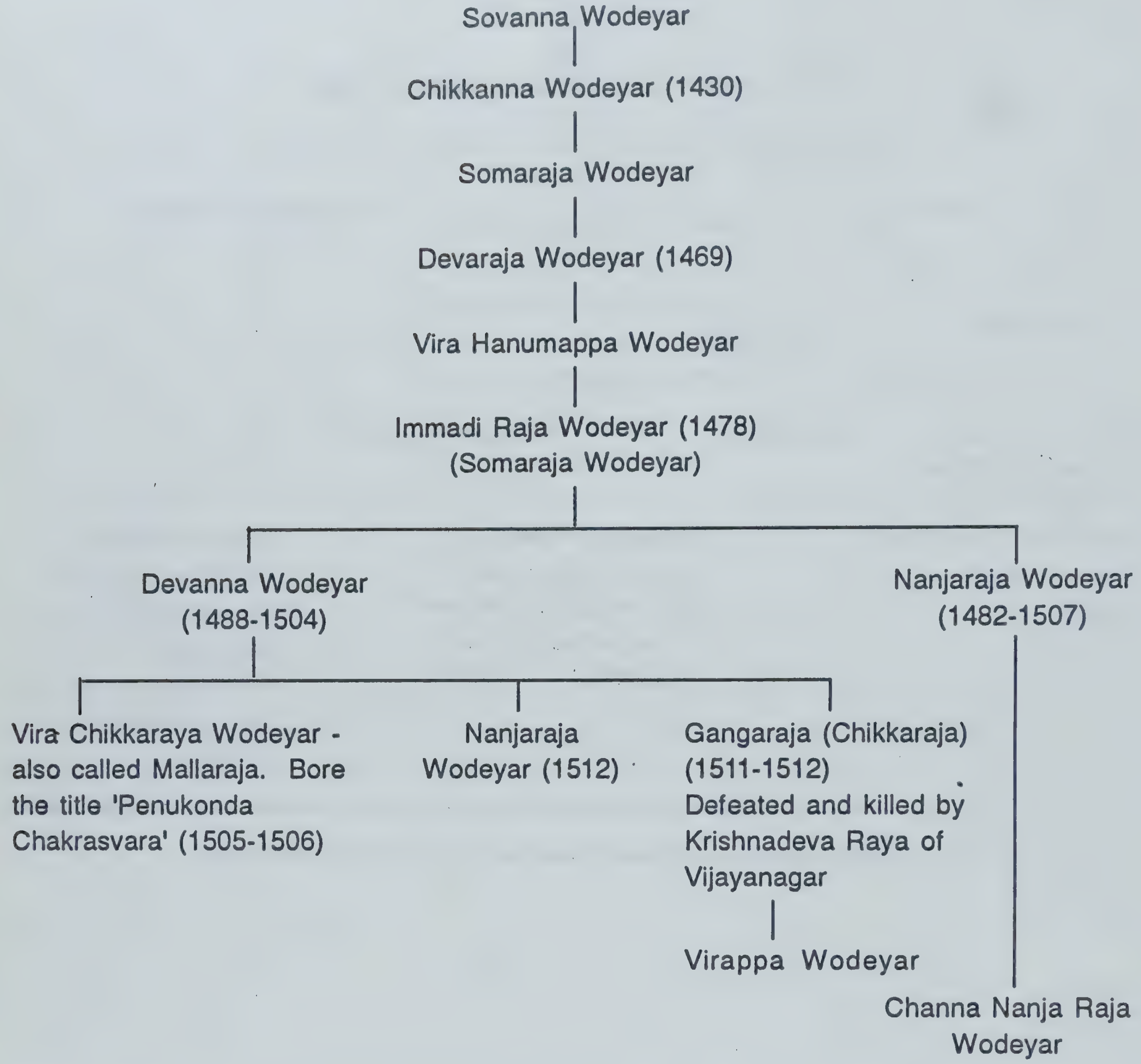
On the reduction of Ummattur by Krishnadeva Raya in 1511-1512 the whole of Southern Mysore came under the imperial sway. The ruler of Vijayanagar appointed his 'Agents for the affairs' to look after the imperial interests in this region. These 'Agents for the Affairs' were directly responsible for the emperor. The 'Agent for the Affairs' at Arikuthara was one such. Four persons seem to have held charge of the office at Arikuthara till 1623 when the principality was over run by Chamaraja Wodeyar V and annexed to Mysore. The genealogy given here is purely based on epigraphical evidence and is only tentative.

(k) DYNASTIC LIST OF THE CHIEFS OF HADINAD


Devappa Wodeyar
Son
Chinnarasa Wodeyar (Singe Depa - (1564)
Ramaraja I
Channaraja Wodeyar
Timmaraja
Nanjaraja
Immadi Ramaraja Nayaka (Defeated by Raja Wodeyar in 1608 when Hadinad was acquired to Mysore)
Muddaraja
Lingaraja (1647)
Nanjaraja Wodeyar (Ruler of Terakanambi and Ummattur defeated by Raja Wodeyar in 1613-1614)
Chandrasekhara Wodeyar (Chief of Ramasamudra (a dependency of Hadinad) defeated by Raja Wodeyar in 1615)

This genealogy is based purely in epigraphical source and is only tentative.

(I) POLIGARS OF UMMATTUR


Sovanna Wodeyar
Chikkanna Wodeyar (1430)
Somaraja Wodeyar
Devaraja Wodeyar (1469)
Vira Hanumappa Wodeyar
Immadi Raja Wodeyar (1478)
(Somaraja Wodeyar)
Devanna Wodeyar
(1488-1504)
Nanjaraja Wodeyar
(1482-1507)
Vira Chikkaraya Wodeyar - also called Mallaraja. Bore the title 'Penukonda Chakrasvara' (1505-1506)
Nanjaraja Wodeyar (1512)
Gangaraja (Chikkaraja) (1511-1512) Defeated and killed by Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar
Virappa Wodeyar
Channa Nanja Raja Wodeyar

After the fall of Ummatrur in 1511-12, Krishnadeva subdued the rebel territory and constituted a new viceroyalty with Srirangapatna as its headquarters, and appointed Virappa Wodeyar, son of Gangaraja as the Governor of this province. Ummattur thereafter was included in the province of Hadinad.

The above genealogy is built up purely on the basis of epigraphical source and is only tentative.

(m) CHIEFS OF MADDAGIRI

Hiri Chikkappa Gowda

Kari Timmappa Gowda - m. Sombambika
(Rendered assistance to Sriranga, the king of Vijayanagar along with Jagadevaraya when the king was improsoned in one of the Qutb Shahi raids on penukonda in 1577)

Immadi Chikkappa Gowda

Mummadi Chikkappa Gowda

Tontendra — Sappe Gowda — Channappa Gowda

Sangappa Gowda

Hiriya Tontadappa Gowda

Kala Chikkappa Gowda

(Contemporary of Chikkadevaraja of Mysore and assisted Kodandarama, the king of Vijayanagar in the latter's war with Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in 1674) - Defeated by Chikkadevaraja of Mysore in 1677 when the principality of Maddagiri was included in the kingdom of Mysore.

(n) CHIEFS OF HOLE NARASIPUR

Krishnappa Nayaka

Venkatappa Nayaka (1580-1591)
(m. Padmambika)

Lakshmappa Nayaka (1591-1614)
(m. Channambika
Contemporary of Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Imprisoned Tirumala, the Viceroy of Srirangapatna who was later released by the Mysore Raja

Virappa Nayaka (1629)

Ramappa Nayaka (1655-1658)

Narasimha Nayaka II (1658-1667)

(Defeated by Devaraja Wodeyar of Mysore who finally annexed Hole Narasipur to the kingdom of Mysore in 1666).

APPENDIX III

COURT POETS OF THE EARLY WODEYARS AND THEIR LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the ruling king (2)	Court Poet/Poetess (3)	Literary Compositions	
			Sanskrit (4)	Kannada (5)
1.	Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617)	(1) Alahi Singaraiyangar I	--	--
		(2) Tirumalarya I		*Karnavrittanta Kathe*
2.	Chamaraja Wodeyar V* (1617-1637)	*	--	1. *Valmiki Ramayana Tike*[1] 2. *Brahmottara kanda Tike*
		(1) Ramachandra	--	1. *Asva Sastra*
		(2) Padmanna Pandita	--	1. *Haya Sastra Sanucchaya*
		(3) Channarya son of Revanaradhya	--	-- --
		(4) Rama Dikshita	--	
3.	Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I	(1) Govinda Vaidya son of Srinivasa Pandita of Srirangapatna	--	1. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*
		(2) Bhaskara or Bachiraja	--	1. *Behara Ganita*
		(3) Timmarasa son of Karnika Ballurappa of Palkurike	--	1. *Markandeya Ramayana*
		(4) Shantavira Deshika, son of Channavira Deshika, grand son of Shivalingarya	--	1. *Shivalinga Charita* 2. *Shivagana Charita* 3. *Saundaresvarana yaksha Gana* 4. *Shivatatva Sara Shikhamani Sangraha* 5. *Girijadeviya-Sankirtane*
4.	Devaraja Wodeyar	(1) Venkata Varadacharya of Yedur of Satamarshana Gotra, Apastambha Sutra and Yajus sakha, son of *Koti Kanyadanam Lakshmi* Kumara Tatacharya and grand son of *Immadi* Tirumala Tatacharya	1. *Mitakshara* 2. *Vijayindra Parijaya*	
		(2) Alahi Singararya II father of Tirumalarya councillor of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar	--	--
		(3) Chamaiya	--	1. *Devaraja Sangatya*
		(4) Lakshmipati (the scribe) or *Rayasada* Lakshmipati	--	1. Manuscript copy of Ranna's *Ajitanatha-purana*

1	2	3	4	5
		(5) Rangaraja (father of Chikkupadhyaya)	1. *Satvikabrahma Vidya Vilasa*	
5.	Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar*		1. *Sacchudrachara Nirnaya*	1. *Chikkadevaraja Saptapadi* and *Tripadi gala Tatparya* or *Sringara Sangita Prabandha* 2. *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam* 3. *Gita Gopalam* 4. *Bharata Vachana* 5. *Bhagavata* or *Chikkadevaraja Sukti Vilasa* [2]
		(1) Tirumalarya	1. *Sri Yadugiri Narayana Stavah* 2. *Sri Yadugiri Nayaki Stavah* 3. *Sri Lakshmi Narasimha Stavah* 4. *Sri Manjula Kesava Stavah* 5. *Sri Apratima Rajagopala Stavah* 6. *Sri Paravasudeva Stavah* 7. *Sri Gopala Stavah* 8. *Sri Paschima Rangaraja Stavah* 9. *Ekadasi Nirnaya*	1. *Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali* 2. *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam* 3. *Apratima Vira Charitam*
		(2) Singararya III	1. Glossary on the *Yadugiri Narayana Stavah* 2. *Srisailarya Dinacharya*	1. *Mitravinda Govinda* 2. *Raghavabhyudaya* 3. *Gita Rangesvara*
		(3) Sanchi Honnamma	--	1. *Hadibadeya Dharma*
		(4) Singaramma	--	1. *Padmini Kalyana*
		(5) Chikkupadhyaya son of Rangaraja	--	(a) **Champu Works** 1. *Kamalachala Mahatmya* 2. *Hastigiri Mahatmya* 3. *Rukmangada Charita* 4. *Vishnu Purana*

1	2	3	4	5
				5. *Divya Suri Charita* 6. *Satvika Brahma Vidya Vilasa* 7. *Arthapanchika* **(b) Sangatyas** 1. *Sriranga Sataka Sanghatya* 2. *Rangadhama Stuti Sangatya* 3. *Paschima Ranga Sangatya* 4. *Akshara-malika Sangatya* 5. *Rangadhama Purusha Viraha Sangatya* 6. *Rangadhama Niti Sataka Sangatya* 7. *Chitra Sataka Sangatya* 8. *Ranganayaka Ranganayaki Stuti Sangatya* 9. *Yadavagiri Mahatmya* 10. *Paschima Ranga Mahatmya* 11. *Madana Mohini Vilasa* **(c) Prose Compositions** 1. *Yadavagiri Mahatmya* 2. *Venkatagiri Mahatmya* 3. *Sriranga Mahatmya* 4. *Sesha Dharma* 5. *Kamandaka Niti* 6. *Suka Saptati* 7. *Bhagavadgita Tiku* 8. *Tiruvaimoli Tiku* 9. *Padmapurana Tiku* **(d) Miscellaneous** 1. *Amaru Sataka* 2. *Chikkadevaraja Sringara Padagalu* 3. *Rangasvami Sringara Sutrodaharane*
		(6) Timma Kavi	--	1. *Yadavagiri Mahatmya* 2. *Venkatagiri Mahatmya* 3. *Paschima Ranga Mahatmya* 4. *Chikkadevendra Vamsavali*
		(7) Mallikarjuna	--	1. *Sri Ranga Mahatmya*
		(8) Mallarasa	--	1. *Dasavatara Charita*

1	2	3	4	5
5.	Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (Contd.)	(9) Shadaksharaiya	1. *Kavi Karna Rasayana* 2. *Bhaktadhikya Ratnavali* 3. *Shivadhikya Ratnavali*	1. *Rajasekhara Vilasa* 2. *Basavaraja Vijaya* 3. *Sabara Sankara Vilasa*
6.	Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (A.D. 1714-1732)	(1) Dalvoy Virarajaiya	1. *Andhra Vachana Bharata Sabha parvam and Bhishma parvam (Telugu)*	1. *Vaidya Samhita Saranarnava (Virarajokti Vilasa)*
		(2) Balavaidya Cheluva son of Venkavadhani and grand son of Ramavadhani of Chikkanayakana Pura (Chikkanayakanahalli)		1. *Lilavati* 2. *Ratna Sastra*
		(3) Channaiya	--	1. *Padmini Parinaya*
		(4) Cheluvamba (Queen consort of Krishnaraja Wodeyar I)	--	1. *Varanandi Kalyana* 2. *Tulakaveri Mahatmya* 3. *Venkatachala Mahatmya Lali Padagalu* 4. *Alamelu-manga Lali Padagalu*
		(5) Rangaiya	--	1. *Kaveri Mahatmya*
7.	Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-66)	(1) *Karachuri* Nanjarayaiya	1. *Sangita Gangadhara* (Darukavana vihara) 2. *Sivapadarenuka Sahasram*	1. *Halasya Mahatmya* 2. *Haradattacharya Mahatmya* 3. *Kakudgiri Mahatmya* 4. *Bhadragiri Mahatmya* 5. *Bhakta Vilasa Darpana* 6. *Setu Mahimadarsa* 7. *Garalapuri Mahimadarsa* 8. *Sivagita* 9. *Sivadharmottara* 10. *Markandeya Purana* 11. *Bharata* 12. *Kashi Mahimartha Darpana* 13. *Kasi Kanda* 14. *Vignesvara Vrata Kalpa* or *Sankatahara Chaturthi Vrata Mahima*
		(2) Kashipati Pandita	1. *Shravana Nandi* (a commentary on the *Sangita Gangadhara of Karachuri Nanjarajaiya*)	

1	2	3	4	5
		(3) Narasimha Kavi, son of Shivarama	1. *Nanjaraja Yashobhushana*	
		(4) Nilakantha Kavi	1. *Nanjaraja Yasassamollasa*	
		(5) Chikkanna Pandita	1. *Vaidya Nighantu Sara*	
		(6) Katti Gopalaraja Urs	--	1. *Kamalachala Mahatmya* or *Gopala Bhupalakoti Vilasa*
		(7) Nurondaiya	--	1. *Saundara Kavya*
		(8) Venkatesa of Gummalapura	--	1. *Halasya Mahatmya*

* Stands for the kings who were also poets.

(1) Though this work is in the name of Chamaraja Wodeyar, certain verses occurring at the end of the same indicate that it was written by a poet named Virupaksha in the name of the king (*Kar. Ka. Cha.* ii, pp. 315-316)

(2) We see in these works many citations from the *Apratima Vira Charitam* of Tirumalarya which is assignable to a date earlier than these works. It is, therefore, felt by certain scholars that these works also must have been composed by Tirumalarya and published inthe name of his patron-king-Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, (*Karnataka Kavi Charitre*, ii, p. 427). *Tirumalarya* (Ed. V.Sitaramaiya), pp. 79-80. *Basavaraj Tirumalarya mattu Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar*, p. 105.

APPENDIX IV

A LIST OF COMPOSERS AND ENGRAVERS OF INSCRIPTIONS UNDER THE EARLY WODEYARS

Sl. No.	References to inscriptions	Date of the Epigraph	Composed by	Engraved by	Name of the ruling king issuing the grant
1.	E.C., VII, Mu. 64	1623	Narasimha, son of Narasimha Pauranika of Gajaranya Kshetra	Timmanna, son of Singari Achari of Talakad	Chamaraja Wodeyar V (1617-1637)
2.	E.C., VII, Mu. 108	1623	--	Lingappa	-do-
3.	E.C., III, Nj. 212	1639	Narasimha Kavi, son of Narasimharya	Kampanachari, son of Nallayachari	Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar I, (1638-1659)
4.	E.C., VII, pp. 214	1647	Narasimhasuri, son of Srinivasa of Kausika Gotra	--	-do-
5.	E.C., V, Tn. 218	1663	Tirumalarya, son of Alasingararya	--	Devaraja Wodeyar (1659-1673)
6.	E.C., VII, Ml. 99	1669	--	Channaiya the *Senabhoga* of Talakad *Sthala*	-do-
7.	E.C., V, My. 99	1674	Ramayanam Tirumalarya	--	Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704)
8.	E.C., IV, Ch. 11	1675	Tirumalarya, son of Alahi Singararya	--	-do-
9.	E.C., XIV, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Nj. 295	1716	Ramayanam Tirumalarya		Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar (1714-1732)
10.	E.C., VI, pp. 99	1722	Ramayanam Tirumalarya	Ramayanam Tirumalarya	Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar *(Sasana Grantha)*
11.	E.C., VI, pp. 215	1724	Ramayanam Tirumalarya	--	-do-
12.	E.C., VI, pp. 216	1725	Ramayanam Tirumalarya	--	-do-
13.	E.C., IV, Ch. 291	1744	Krishna Dikshita of *Kasyapa Gotra* and *Sama Sakha*	--	Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-1766)
14.	E.C., V, Tn. 16	1749	*Vidvan* Krishna Dikshita, son of Krishnarya of *Kasyapa Gotra* and *Drihyayana Sutra*	--	-do-

APPENDIX V

CIVIL LIST OF THE MINISTERS AND OTHER IMPORTANT OFFICERS UNDER THE EARLY WODEYARS OF MYSORE 1610-1748

Name of the king	*Pradhani*	Minister/s	*Rayasam* or the royal scribe	*Koshadhikari*	Officer incharge of mint	*Karanika* or the Finance Minister	*Avasaram* or the 'Agent for the Affairs'	City Mayor
1. Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617)	Tirumalarya (*Pradhani*)							
2. Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637)		Govindaiya son of Appaji pandita, son of Hiriyanna pandita					1. Basavaiya, son of Kempasetti agent at Talakad 2. Kotturaiya, agent at Saligrama 3. Rajaiya, at Yadatore	
3. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659)		Timmarasaiya	Narasimha *upadhyaya*	Basavaiya		Lappavarasa	Viranna	Linge Gowda
4. Doddadevaraja Wodeyar (1659-1673)			Lakshmapati					
5. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704)	Vishalaksha-pandita	1. Tirumalarya 2. Shadaksharaiya 3. Lingannaiya		Narasaiya	Annaiya, son of Javanasetti	Lingannaiya	1. Siddarajaiya of Talakad at Kunigal 2. Kotturaiya at Talakad 3. Hampaiya at Arkalgud 4. Mallaiya at Avanasi	

Name of the king	Chief Minister	Minister	Rayasam or the royal scribe	Koshadhikari	Officer incharge of mint	Karanika or the Finance Minister	Avasaram of the 'Agent for the Affairs'	City Mayor
							5. Muddaiya at Shankaragiri 6. Doddaiya at Maddagiri 7. Kempaiya at Vamalur 8. Dasarajaiya at Nijagal, near Nelamangala 9. Dasaiya at Nagamangala 10. Devaiya at Hangala.	
6. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II (1704-1714)	Nanjarajaiya, son of Dalvoy Basavarajaiya *(sarvadhikari)*							
7. Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1714-1732	Subba-pandita							
8. Chamaraja Wodeyar VI (1732-1734)	Gopinathaiya	Virasetti *(Sarvadhikari)*						
9. Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-1766)	Venkatapataiya of Kannambadi							

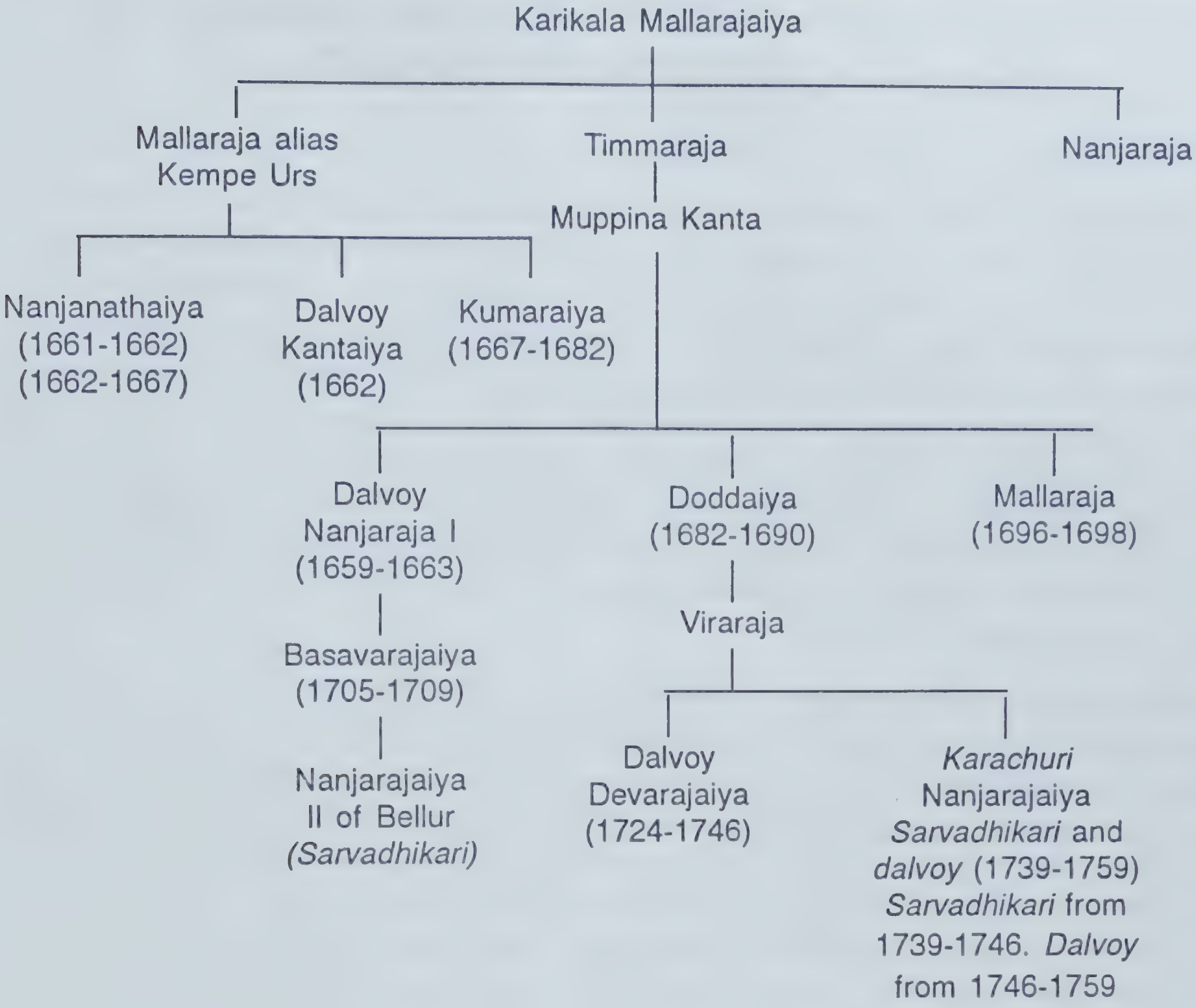
APPENDIX VI

LIST OF DALVOYS UNDER THE EARLY WODEYARS OF MYSORE (1610-1748)

Name of the King	Dalvoys	
1. Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617)	Bettada Arasu	
2. Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637)	1. Linganna of Bannur	1621-1626
	2. Basavalingaiya	1626-1630
	3. Vikrama Raya	1630-1637
3. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659)	1. Timmappaiya	1638-1640
	2. Nanjarajaiya of Hura	1641-1647
	3. Lingarajaiya of Hura	1647-1648
	4. Kempaiya	1648-1649
	5. Linge Gowda	1649-1650
	6. Hampaiya of Karugahalli	1650-1651
	7. Dasarajaiya of Kolala (father in law of Kanthirava)	1651-1653
	8. Linge Gowda	1653-1655
	9. Hamparajaiya of Karugahalli	1655-1659
4. Doddadevaraja Wodeyar (1659-1673)	1. Hamparajaiya of Karugahalli	1659-1660
	2. Mallarajaiya of Kalale (M. Chikkadevamma, sister of Devaraja Wodeyar)	1660
	3. Muddaiya	1660-1661
	4. Nanjanathaiya	1661-1662
	5. Kantaiya of Kalale (son of Mallarajaiya)	1662
	6. Nanjanathaiya (Appointed for the second time)	1662-1667
	7. Kumaraiya of Kalale (Devajamma daughter of Kumaraiya married to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar)	1667 to the end of the reign of Devaraj
5. Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1673-1704)	1. Kumaraiya (Father-in-law of Chikkadevaraja)	1673-1682

		2.	Devaiya	Held office for a brief period of 15 days
		3.	Doddaiya (nephew of Kumaraiya)	1682-1690
		4.	Timmappaiya of Kolala	1690-1696
		5.	Mallarajaiya (son of Kantaiya of Kalale)	1696-1698
		6.	Virarajaiya of Nilasoge	1698-1702
		7.	Dasarajaiya of Devarayadurga	1702-1704
6.	Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II (1704-1714)	1.	Dasarajaiya of Devarayadurga	1704-1705
		2.	Basavarajaiya of Kalale (Father-in-law of Kanthirava)	1705-1708
		3.	Nanjarajaiya II (son of Basavarajaiya of Kalale)	1708-1714
7.	Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1714-1732)	1.	Virarajaiya (son of Doddaiya)	1714-1724
		2.	Devarajaiya (son of Virarajaiya)	1724-1732
8.	Chamaraja Wodeyar VI (1732-1734)	1.	Devarajaiya (son of Virarajaiya of Kalale	1732-1773
		2.	Devaiya (held office as dalvoy only for a short period when Devarajaiya was dismissed by Chamaraja in 1733. Devaraja again assumed charge as dalvoy in 1734 on the imprisonment of Chamaraja, the king),	1733
9.	Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-1766)	1.	Devarajaiya	1734-1746
		2.	*Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya	1746-1759

GENEAOLOGY OF THE DALVOYS OF MYSORE FROM KALAGE DYNASTY


Karikala Mallarajaiya
Mallaraja alias Kempe Urs
Timmaraja
Nanjaraja
Muppina Kanta
Nanjanathaiya (1661-1662) (1662-1667)
Dalvoy Kantaiya (1662)
Kumaraiya (1667-1682)
Dalvoy Nanjaraja I (1659-1663)
Doddaiya (1682-1690)
Mallaraja (1696-1698)
Basavarajaiya (1705-1709)
Viraraja
Nanjarajaiya II of Bellur (Sarvadhikari)
Dalvoy Devarajaiya (1724-1746)
Karachuri Nanjarajaiya Sarvadhikari and dalvoy (1739-1759) Sarvadhikari from 1739-1746. Dalvoy from 1746-1759

APPENDIX VII

COINAGE AND CURRENCY SYSTEM UNDER THE EARLY WODEYARS OF MYSORE

The Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore is one of the dynasties that rose over the debris of Vijayanagara in the South. This dynasty played an important part in the politics of Karnataka in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their rule may be said to date from 1610 A.D. when Raja Wodeyar occupied Srirangapatna. The Wodeyar rulers were good administrators, introduced an efficient machinery of government and ruled till 1947 except for an interregnum of about 40 years when Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan dislodged them. The Wodeyar rule witnessed an all-round development of the kingdom - political, economic and cultural. These rulers greatly improved trade and commerce by improving the system of communications, by bringing about a uniform system of currency and standardising weights and measures in the kingdom. An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the currency system under the early Wodeyar period in Mysore.

Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659) established for the first time a mint at Srirangapatna in 1646 from where he issued coins independently in his own name.[1] Though, as some scholars hold, this issue of coins by Kanthirava was motivated by political considerations and signifies the latter's desire for political independence, it was also greatly aimed at facilitating trade and commerce in the kingdom.[2] For, as the *Mysore Palace Records* tell us, several agencies used to mint coins during the Vijayanagar and the Poligar periods.[3] Each of these agencies had its own separate symbols on the coins. These innumerable estampages on the coins had led to great confusion in the kingdom and there was a great urgency to centralise the system of currency and to have a uniform device on the coins. With this objective in view Kanthirava standardised the currency system in his kingdom by bringing out a unified system of currency.

The study of the coinage of the Wodeyars is beset with a great problem namely paucity of evidences on the subject. The numismatic evidence is too scanty as only a few stray coins of the period have come down to us. The study of the coins of the period previously made is based only on a study of these stray coins. The literary and epigraphical sources of the period are also un-helpful as they give us no correct idea of the currency system except giving us the names of a few coins. The study of the coinage of the early Wodeyar dynasty thus remains inconclusive due to scanty evidences on the subject.

We see certain striking similarities between the coins of the Vijayanagara period and those of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. The weight and shape of the coins of Mysore and the use of the three line Nagari legend on the reverse of these coins suggest that the Wodeyar rulers followed greatly the currency traditions of the Vijayanagar rulers. But the minting of coins during the Wodeyar rule was the monopoly of the government. The State mint was at Srirangapatna from where the coins were issued.

The epigraphs of the period supply us certain marks that were used for denoting fractions of denominations. The commonest of these fraction marks are - one vertical stroke (i) for one quarter, two vertical strokes (ii) for half and three vertical strokes (iii) for three quarters. In the same way two horizontal strokes were used to denote 1/8 while one horizontal stroke stood for 1/16 part.

Gold Coins:

The coin of the highest value was the *Kanthirava Gulige.* We get frequent references to this coin in the inscriptions. This was possibly in very wide circulation or it was the monetary unit of the period and is identical with the *'Gadyana'* of the Vijayanagar period. The inscriptions equate *Kanthirava Gulige* with *Varatha.*[4] In the epigraphs the term *Kathirava Gulige* is used to express the value numerically and *varaha* to express the same value in words. For instance 212 'o. (Innura hanneradu varaha). Kan. Gu. is the abbreviation used for Kanthirava Gulige the stroke above the figure (') indicates *varaha.*[5] *Nishka* mentioned in a record of 1722 is possibly identical with the *varaha.*[6]

Next coin of a lower denomination was the half *varaha* mentioned in an epigraph belonging to 1674 which records the gift of some lands of the value of 12 and half *varahas* by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to one Kasturidikshita.[7] Here the annual value of the land is derived by taking into account its total income from different sources like :

(1) The *gowdumbali* of the *Senaboga*	*Kan. Gu.*	2'1	- 1¼
(2) *Arevasi* of the temple	*Kan. Gu.*	6'	3/4
	Total	8'	2 =

To this is added the revenue from *Purvarga. Kan. Gu.* 3'4. The total of these figures is given as *Kan. Gu.* 12' 1. = this total is expressed in words as *Hanneradu varaha hana (one hana) bele* (one *bele*). Here the total shows that five *hanas* are made equal to 1 *varaha.* This unit of five *hanas* was possibly a double *hana* five of which would make one *varaha.* The third column in this table namely *bele* will be explained further below.

Next to the double *hana* in a descending order was the *hana. Hana* was 1/10 of the value of a *varaha.* We have an epigraph of the time of Krishna raja Wodeyar II which records the sale deed of the village Kalidevanahalli along with its dependent villages in Nagamangala *Sthala.*[8] This inscription tells us that the annual income of these villages was estimated at 211 and half *Kanthiraya Guliges* and two *hanas.* This sum is expressed in words as *innura hannondu varaha yelu hana* (Two hundreden eleven *varahas* and seven hanas). Thus it is clear that 5 *hanas* would make half *varaha.* This is further substantiated by the same epigraph which fixes the sale value of the above land by ten times more than the annual income of these

Villages. That is 211 *varahas* and 7 *hanas* X 10 = 2117 *Kanthiraya Guliges* expressed in words as *eradu savirada nura hadinelu varaha* (Two thousand one hundred seventeen *varahas).* This shows that ten *hanas* would make one varaha or one *hana* was 1/10th of a *varaha.* We have another epigraph belonging to 1749.[9] This inscription gives us the total income of a land from different sources as:

(1)	Land tax from certain lands situated in the tank bed	*Kan. Gu.* 1' 2
(2)	Tax on the lands belonging to Viranna	*Kan. Gu.* 2' 4
(3)	Tax on the land of Channa	*Kan. Gu.* 3' 1
		7' 2

The total of these is given as 72 *hanas (eppatteradu hanada bhumi)* land worth the value of seventytwo *hanas.*

In many cases however where different monetary units are added in the inscriptions it is difficult to arrive at the total given in the inscriptions. This is possibly due to the fact that different denominations seem to have been clubbed together without properly specifying the name of the currency denomination in each individual case.

Thus we have now *varaha,* double *hana* and *hana.* Next lower fraction in the gold currency was *bele.* An inscription of the time of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar referred to above (p. 229) records the gift of a land by this ruler to one Kasturi dikshita. It gives us the sum total of the monetary income from the land as *Kan. Gu.* 12' 1 = .[10] This is expressed in words as *hanneradu varaha hana bele.* We have seen above that this *hana* is a double *hana* five of which would make a *varaha* The coin in the next column after *hana* in this total is *bele.* The inscription puts this as 1/8 part of the preceeding double *hana.* Thus if one *bele* is equal to 1/8 of a double *hana* one *hana* would make 4 *beles.*

Another fraction of the gold currency was the *adda* which is mentioned in an epigraph dated 1761.[11] This epigraph registers a sale deed of some land; and after adding up the income from the land fròm all the sources the sum total of the annual income of the land is arrived at 530' || O || which is given in words as *ainura muvattu varaha aidu hanavadda* (Five hundred thirty *varahas* 5 *hanavadda)* that is lands with an annual income of five hundred thirty *varahas* five *hanas* and five *addas.* These 5 *addas* are shown in figure as 1/2 *hana* in the record by which it may be inferred that ten *addas* would make 1 *hana.* This is further corroborated by the same inscription which fixes the sale value of the land at ten times more than its annual income. That is the income for ten years at the rate of *varahas* 530 || O || per annum. The total value of the land is thus assessed (at 530 || O || x 10 =) as 5305 *varahas,* five hanas) which shows that ten addas were equal to 1 hana.

From the above study we can draw a tentative table of the different denominations of the gold currency of the early Wodeyar period as follows:

1. Kanthirava Gulige *(Varaha)* = 10 *hanas*

One Hana = 4 *beles*
One Bele = 2 - 1/2 *addas* or 10 *Hanas*

Thus we have in the gold series the *Varaha* which was the coin of the highest denomination. The other fractional currencies in the diminishing order were the double *hana, hana, bele* and *adda.*

Silver:

No silver coin which can definitely be assigned to the Wodeyar dynasty has come down to us. However some inscriptions mention certain silver coins. *Tara* mentioned in an inscription of 1733[12] and *Dinara* mentioned in another record of 1663[13] were possibly the silver currencies of the period. Neither their weight not their relation either with the other gold coins of the period or even their proportional value with the copper currency of the period is known to us.

Copper:

Copper coins were known as *kasu* or *paika.* Since the copper coins of the early Wodeyars are bereft of any legends it is difficult to attribute the same to any particular ruler of the period. Due to paucity of evidences we have no idea of the different fractions of the copper coins nor their relative value to the other currencies of the period. We have comparatively a large number of copper coins assignable to the early Wodeyar period. This shows that copper coins were in wide circulation and were possibly used in day to day transactions.

A few gold coins of this period are now available in the Bangalore Museum which are described by Dr. M.H. Krishna.[14] They are classified as follows:

I. Varahas:

Type 1 (a) : Weight 52 grains - Size .25"
Obv. : Four armed Narasimha seated holding conch and disc.
Rev. : Three line Nagari legend in interdotted double lines.

SRI
KANTHI
RAVA

No coin that can definitely be attributed to the successors of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar is known to us till we come to the reign of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.

Type 2 : Tandava Krishna Type[15]
Weight 52.7 grains - Size .4"
Obv. : Baby Krishna dancing under an ornamental arch on the hood of a cobra
Rev. : Three line Nagari legend with single intervening rules.

SRI CHI
KA DEVA
RAYA

This is possibly the type of coins referred to as *Tandava Krishnamurti Devaraya.*[16] It was a commemorative coin issued by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to mark his victory over the ruler of Madura. This inference seems to be substantiated by the *Tondanur Copper Plate grant* of Krishnaraja Wodeyar II[17] which states that Chikkadeva emulated the sport of Krishna in his having conquered the lord of Madura.

II. Half Varahas:

This denomination has a standard weight of 26 grains and is identical with the *kati* or the *pratapa gadyana* of the Vijayanagar period.

Type 1 : Lakshminarasimha type[18]
Weight 26 grains - size .4"
Obv. : Four armed Narasimha with Lakshmi on his left lap.
Rev. : Three line Nagari legend
SRI KAM (THI)
RA VANARA
(SA) RAJA

Type 2 : Weight 25.7 grains
Obv. : Krishna dancing on the hood of Kalinga.
Rev. : Indistinct

Hanas:

Only two types of Hanas belonging to Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar are known.[19]

Type 1 : *Kanthirayi Hana*
Siz. : .25" Weight 5.2 grains
Obv. : Seated four armed Narasimha
Rev. : Three line Nagari legend
SRI
KANTHI
RA VA

Type 2 :
Obv. : Four armed Narasimha
Rev. : Three line legend (uncertain)

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4. *EC.,* VII, Md. 24; MI. 124; *EC.,* III, Nj. 109, 316; *EC.,* V, MY. 99 and so forth.
5. *Ibid.*
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14. *M.A.R.,* 1929, pp. 31-34.
15. *Ibid.,* No. 31, Pl. ix; Elliot *C.S.I.,* No. 106., Pl. III.
16. *I.M.C.,* 18, 15, 60.
17. *E.C.,* VI, pp. 99, L. 61.
18. *M.A.R.,* 1929, No. 27, 28, Pl. IX.
19. *M.A.R.,* 1929, No. 5, 29 and 30, Pl. IX.

APPENDIX VIII

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES UNDER THE EARLY WODEYARS OF MYSORE

Our knowledge of the system of weights and measures under the early Wodeyars is very poor due to inadequate evidences. The inscriptions recording land donations give us clear descriptions of the lands donated demarcating the boundary lines with minute accuracy and precision with a view to avoiding any land disputes and also for fixing the land revenue assessments. This shows that a well advanced system of land survey and measurement existed in those days. The lands were usually measured by means of a standard rod called 'Hejjegolu' and 'Nijagolu'. An epigraph of the time of Krishnaraja Wodeyar II mentions a measuring rod of 32 feet (32 *Hejje Kolu).*[1] *Hejje* or foot was the unit of a square measure. This is proved by another epigraph which records the donation of certain lands by the diamond merchant Dhannoji at Hosakote in Kannamabadi *Sthala*[2] The Epigraph tells us that the donor also gifted ready built houses each measuring 50 feet *(pada)* broad and 100 feet *(pada)* long *(Pancha Satapada Vistirnam tatah Satapadayatam).* This epigraph also supplies us certain other interesting informations in this connection. Apart from the measuring unit *pada* some other units of square measures of the period like the *Khari,* the *Drona* and the *Prastha* are also mentioned in this epigraph. From the context in which these terms are used in the inscriptions it may be inferred that *pada* or *Hejje* (foot) was used to denote areas of small dimensions like house sites or buildings while *Khari, Drona* and *Prastha* were used for measuring larger areas of lands like agricultural fields and garden lands. The available evidences do not give us the correct explanation of these units or their inter convertional scales. The same record however mentions the following units of some garden lands which were gifted by Dhannoji namely,

(1)	5 *Kharis*	and	9 *Dronas*	
(2)			16 *Dronas*	1. *Prastha*
(3)	1 *Khari*		15 *Dronas*	
Total :	6 *Khari*		40 *Dronas*	1. *Prastha*

The sum total of these different units of land is given in the inscription as 8 *Kharis* and 1 *Prastha.* This clearly shows that 40 *dronas* would make 2 Kharis, that is 20 *Dronas* were equal to 1 *Khari.*

Similarly our knowledge of the system of weights during this period is also too meagre, Scarcely do we get any reference to this point in the contemporary records. However there are some stray references to the system of weights in a few epigraphs of the period. The weight of an object was expressed in terms of *Varahas* especially while weighing gold and other precious metals. We have an epigraph of 1614[3] which records the gift of a jewelled lotus pedestal provided to the *Rajamundi* crown of the god Cheluvarayasvami at Melukote. The inscription gives the weight of this pedestal as 144 *varahas* and 1 *Hana (Tuka Varaha Paddilagu 144 1 Tuka).* It is difficult to interpret the term *paddilagu* used in the inscription.

Before the advent of the Wodeyars there was no unified system of measurement in the kingdom and different systems of weights and measures were in vogue in different parts of the kingdom. *Kolaga* was the unit of measure used for measuring corn. There were different *Kolagas* in different parts of the kingdom. This variation ranged from 8 to 16 seers a Kolaga.[4]

As a part of his fiscal policy Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar brought about some changes in respect of weights and measures also.[5] His first task was to introduce uniformity in all the cubic measures throughout the kingdom. The different measures prescribed by the government were impressed with the royal seal. This seal bore the name of the *Gadi* (Taluk) impressed on it along with the figures of Sun and Moon each on either side of the letter 'De'. This letter 'De' stood for Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. It was ordered that all commercial transactions were to be carried out only in the measures authenticated by the impression of the royal seal. The general units of weights and measures in the kingdom were standardised as follows:

Weights :

3 Kanthirayi *Varahas* = 1 *Duddu* or 1 *Tola*
24 *Tolas (duddu)* = 1 *seer*
5 *seers* = 1 *Pancheru* (1/8 maund)
10 *seers* = 1 *Dadiya* (1/4 maund)
4 *dadiyas* = 1 maund

There was also a big maund of 44 or 46 seers. It was ordered that the big maund was to be used in whole sale markets where the commodities were purchased for retail sale in which only small maund was used.

Khanduga was the highest of the cubic measures. One *Khanduga* possibly consisted of 8 *Kolagas.* For we have an epigraph belonging to 1673 which registers certain grants made by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar to pontiff Revanardhya at Hullamballi in Mandya taluk.[6] Among the grants made was, rice measuring 1 *Kolaga* a day for free feeding in the pontificate *(matha)* which is calculated in the inscription as 45-1/2 *Khandugas* per year. Assuming that the year consisted of 364 days in the contemporary calendar the total quantity of rice at the rate of 1 *Kolaga* per day would come to 364 *Kolagas* or 45-1/2 *Khandugas* which is given. That is 45-1/2 *Khandugas* would make 364 *Kolagas.* This means to say that one *Khanduga* was equal to 8 Kolagas. The *Mysore Palace Records* state that there were different Kolagas measuring 8 to 16 seers according to local conditions.

Apart from *Khanduga* and *Kolaga* the other measures were Balla, *Seer,* 1/2 *Seer,* 1 *Pavu* (1/4 *Seer),* 1/2 *Pavu* and *Chataku* (1/8 *Pavu).*

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6. *E.C.,* VII, Ml. 124.

APPENDIX IX

A LETTER OF KEMPA VEERAPPA GOWDA III OF MAGADI[1]

This is a palm leaf manuscript containing a letter written by Mummadi Kempa Veerappa Gowda of Magadi from Srirangapatna where he was kept in confinment by Krishna Raja Wodeyar I of Mysore on the reduction of Magadi by the latter in 1728. The letter is addressed by the Gowda to one of his kisnsmen Krishnaraja Gowda of Hulikal near Magadi and sent through a confidential attendant. In it the Chief writes about his bad state of health from which he sees no chances of recovery and asks Krishna Raja Gowda the only nearest claimant to the throne of Magadi to take the royal insignia sent through the servant and to rule the principality. The letter is dated on the 10th day of the dark half of the month of *Phalguna* (*Pal. Ba.* 10) corresponding to Friday 23 February (1728 ?). At the end of the letter is Kempa Veerappa's signature.

1 Śrīmatu Keṁpavīrapa-gauḍaru chiraṁjīvi
Hulikallu naṁma Kri(kṛi)shṇarācha(ja)-
gauḍarrige(rige) māḍu āśīrvāda adāgi
yī Pā(Phā)lguṇaba 10 varrige(rige)
Śrīraṁgapaṭaṇadali nāu kshēma[dalli]-
yidēvealli yiruvaṁta sakalaru sahā

2 niṁma kshēmakke barasi kaḷuyisuvadu
taruvāya namage Sōmanāta(tha)na
vilāsadiṁda yī durśa(rda)śa baṁdu yiruvadu
sarri(ri)yashṭhe yīga naṁma dēha-sthiti
bahutara upadra[va*]vāgi yide Sōmanāta(tha)-
na pādagaḷlli av-aikhyav-āgō-

3 deśa tōruta yide niruvāha tōral-illa
naṁma vaṁśakke bādhyaru nīve allade
mattēbērē yilla ād[da]rri(ri)ṁda
niṁma baḷige naṁma Sōmana kaiyalli
naṁma mukhya-paṭṭada āyudha-si(śi)-
khisara sahā koṭṭu kaḷuhisi yidē[re]
nīu buddhi-

4 vaṁtar-āgi kāl-ānuguṅṇyav-āgi yiddu[2]
koṁḍu naṁma dēha-sti(thi)ti ā-taruvā[yi]
[āga] takka ke[la]sagaḷaṁnu āga
māḍisuvadu kaḍame vichāra vā[le]mu
[khā]ṁtara

5 bareyu tak[ka*]du allavalla yī Sōmana bā[yi]-[3]

6 mā[ta]niṁda yalla vivarau tiḷiyyu(yu)-ttayide.

7 bidavanu yī vi[va]ra niṁma manassige tarahāgi māḍisuvadu nimage [ā]pta-

8 rādavara yi[li]ge kaḷuyisuvadu Ke[ṁ]payya

The manner in which this powerful chief was confined and the miserable plight to which he was reduced in the prison show the thirst of the rulers to conquer and to become stronger and thus to acquire fame and glory. Incidentally the letter throws some light on the secret service and the system of intelligence prevalent in Karnataka in those days.

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1. From a photograph of the palm leaf manuscript.
2. The letter *'da'* was corrected as *'yi'*
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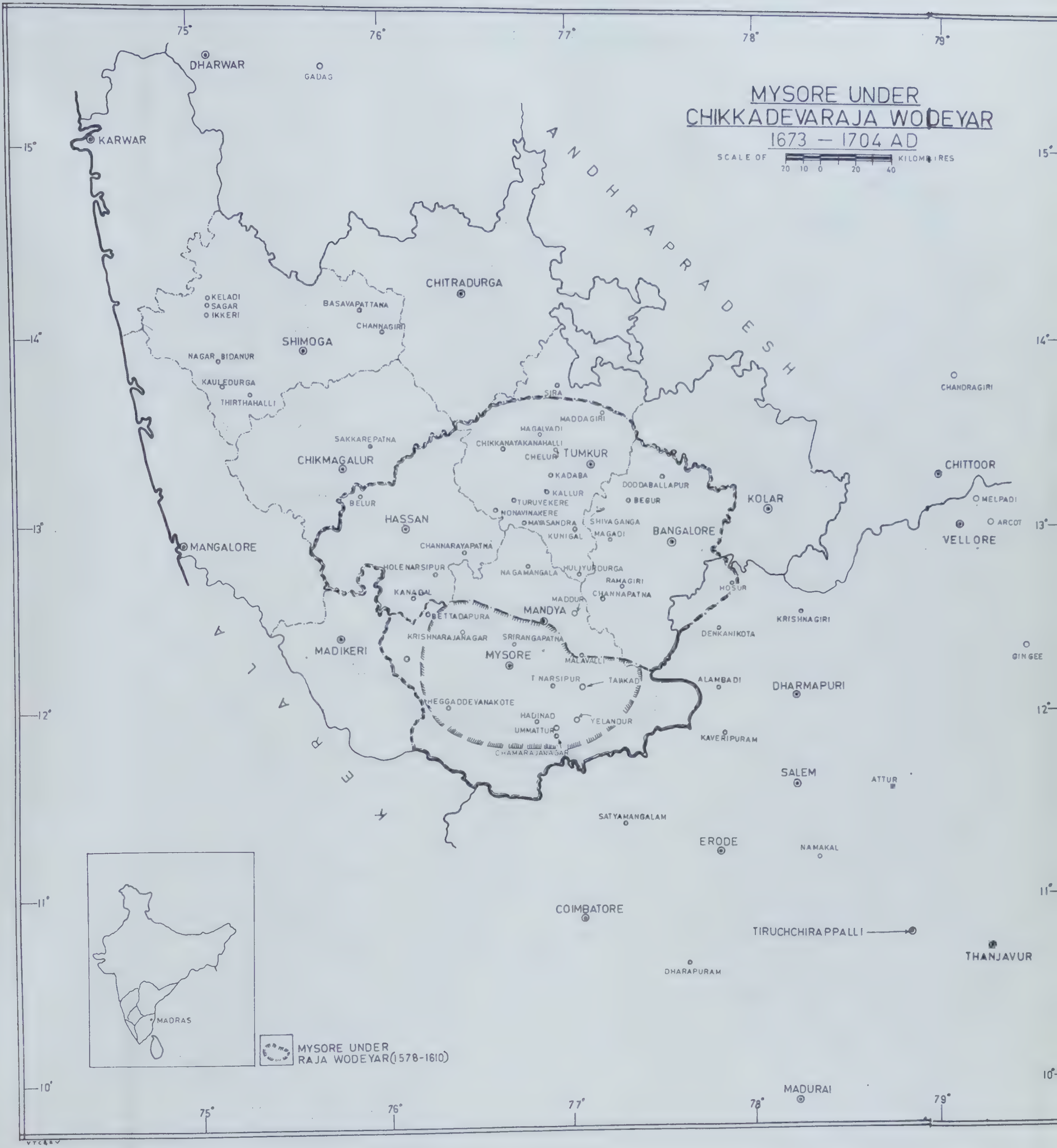
ERRATA

Page No.	Line No.	For	Read as
6	10	Shantiraja	Shantaraja
9	22	The historical probabaly about the origin	The historical probability about the origin.
10	36	back by two generation	back by two generations
11	1 (under the caption Early Wodeyars)	Vijaya appears to the founder	Vijaya appears to be the founder
16	14	Ramati Venkataiya	Remati Venkataiya
17	15	Kambal	Kembal
17	25	cleaver enough	clever enough
19	17	become so awkward	became so awkward
20	28	in the event of the later's death.	in the event of the latter's death.
20	30	he died shortly after	He died shortly after
22	30	on his apart	on his part
23	22	Ahmednagar	Ahmadnagar
39	17	Channapatina	Channarayapattana
41	35	was fairly infact	was fairly intact
43	24	In the spirit of a *Jihad*	in the spirit of *Jihad*
43	5	The Sultan had to subdule	The Sultan had to subdue
45	2	Ranadullah sent Afzak Khan	Ranadullah sent Afzal Khan
45	2	Afzak Khan laid siege to Sira	Afzal Khan laid siege to Sira
47	20	*Kanthirava Narasaraya Vijayam*	*Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*
47	7	Chennarayapattana	Channarayapattana
48	15	Kenge Nanuma	Kenge Hanuma
50	21	Tiptur	Tippur
50	28	through they could not retain	though they could not retain.
53	32	what reminded of Vijayanagar	what remained of Vijayanagar
58	Note 73	*Kanthirava Narasarajaya Vijayam*	*Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*
63	11	being in league with he Sultan	being in league with the Sultan
65	34 (Headline to the last para)	Sroramga's fight	Srirangara's flight.
75	34 & 35	These epigraphs seems to priest	These epigraphs seem to suggest
82	1	Vijayanagar. The name of	The name of
84	11	We here nothing of Kodandarama.	We hear nothing of Kodandarama.

87	9	Mudura region	Madura region
89	11	strengthened it defences	strengthened its defences
90	31	*Maravas*	*Marvas*
91	3 & 4	encamped near the village Kottatti and Honnalagere	encamped near the villages Kottatti and Honnalagere
91	10 & 11	The Place Records	The Palace Records
93	31	But, this statements seems to be an exaggeration	But this statement seems to be an exaggeration
95	7 & 8	*Mysure Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara*	*Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara*
95	23	Malleyalam	Maleyalam
97	18 & 19	Aurangazeb sent back the embassy with costly presents	Aurangazeb sent back the ambassad or with costly presents
103	11	he reorganised the military department	He reorganised the military departrment
103	19	Sombhaji	Sambhaji
112	12	More of less an independent ruler	More or less an independent ruler
112	26	Being dumb and deaf he never linked a war	Being dumb and deaf he never liked a war
115	21	Fatch Singh Bhonsle	Fateh Singh Bhonsle
116	34 & 35	*Sarvadhikari Karachuri* Nanjarajaiya invited the newly selected prince	*Sarvadhikari* Nanjarajaiya *dalvoy* Devarajaiya and his brother Karachuri Nanjarajaiya invited the newly selected prince
117	5	Direct discent	Direct descent
122	1	Musore	Mysore
126	13	Tirumalaraya	Tirumalarya
133	25	son on	so on
143	28	Sambhoji	Sambhaji
149	Note 50	*Ec.* VI Kp. 55. pp 215 p. 99 and so forth	*EC.* VI, K.p. 55, pp. 215 pp. 99 and so forth
159.	22	Sandls	Sandals
160	10	Religion was the basis factor	Religion was the basic factor
168	5	This people engaged in this profession	The people engaged in this profession
169	35	head loads to places that were not connected by roads	on head loads to places that were not connected by roads
178	22	Gundulupet	Gundlupet
180	26	Brahams	Brahma

180	35	Sanctury	Sanctuary
183	Col. 3	resembles a bastion and is is identical	resembles a bastion and is identical
184	26	*Bhakta vgraha*	*Bhakta Vigraha*
185	3	In the art of metal sculpture the bronze devotional image of Kanthira Narasaraja Wodeyar	In the art of sculpture the stone devotional image of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar
185	8	of metal sculptures of the period.[43]	of stone and metal sculptures of the period.[43]
188	28 & 29	belongs to a this period	belongs to this period
196	7	It was at such functions	It was at such junctures
201	6	implicated on Raja Wodeyar	Imprecated on Raja Wodeyar



MYSORE UNDER CHIKKADEVARAJA WODEYAR 1673 — 1704 AD

SCALE OF KILOMETRES
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75°
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DHARWAR
GADAG
KARWAR
ANDHRA PRADESH
CHITRADURGA
KELADI
SAGAR
IKKERI
BASAVAPATTANA
CHANNAGIRI
SHIMOGA
NAGAR BIDANUR
KAULEDURGA
THIRTHAHALLI
SIRA
MADDAGIRI
MAGALVADI
CHIKKANAYAKANAHALLI
CHELUR
TUMKUR
SAKKAREPATNA
CHIKMAGALUR
KADABA
KALLUR
DODDABALLAPUR
BEGUR
KOLAR
BELUR
TURUVEKERE
NONAVINAKERE
MAYASANDRA
SHIVAGANGA
KUNIGAL
MAGADI
BANGALORE
HASSAN
CHANNARAYAPATNA
MANGALORE
HOLENARSIPUR
NAGAMANGALA
HULIYURDURGA
RAMAGIRI
CHANNAPATNA
HOSUR
KANAGAL
MADDUR
MANDYA
BETTADAPURA
KRISHNARAJANAGAR
SRIRANGAPATNA
MYSORE
MALAVALLI
MADIKERI
T NARSIPUR
TALKAD
DENKANIKOTA
KRISHNAGIRI
ALAMBADI
DHARMAPURI
HEGGADDEVANAKOTE
HADINAD
UMMATTUR
YELANDUR
CHAMARAJANAGAR
KAVERIPURAM
KERALA
CHANDRAGIRI
CHITTOOR
MELPADI
ARCOT
VELLORE
GINGEE
SALEM
ATTUR
SATYAMANGALAM
ERODE
NAMAKAL
COIMBATORE
TIRUCHCHIRAPPALLI
THANJAVUR
DHARAPURAM
MADURAI
MADRAS
MYSORE UNDER RAJA WODEYAR(1578-1610)

MYSORE UNDER DODDADEVARAJA WODEYAR (1659-1673)

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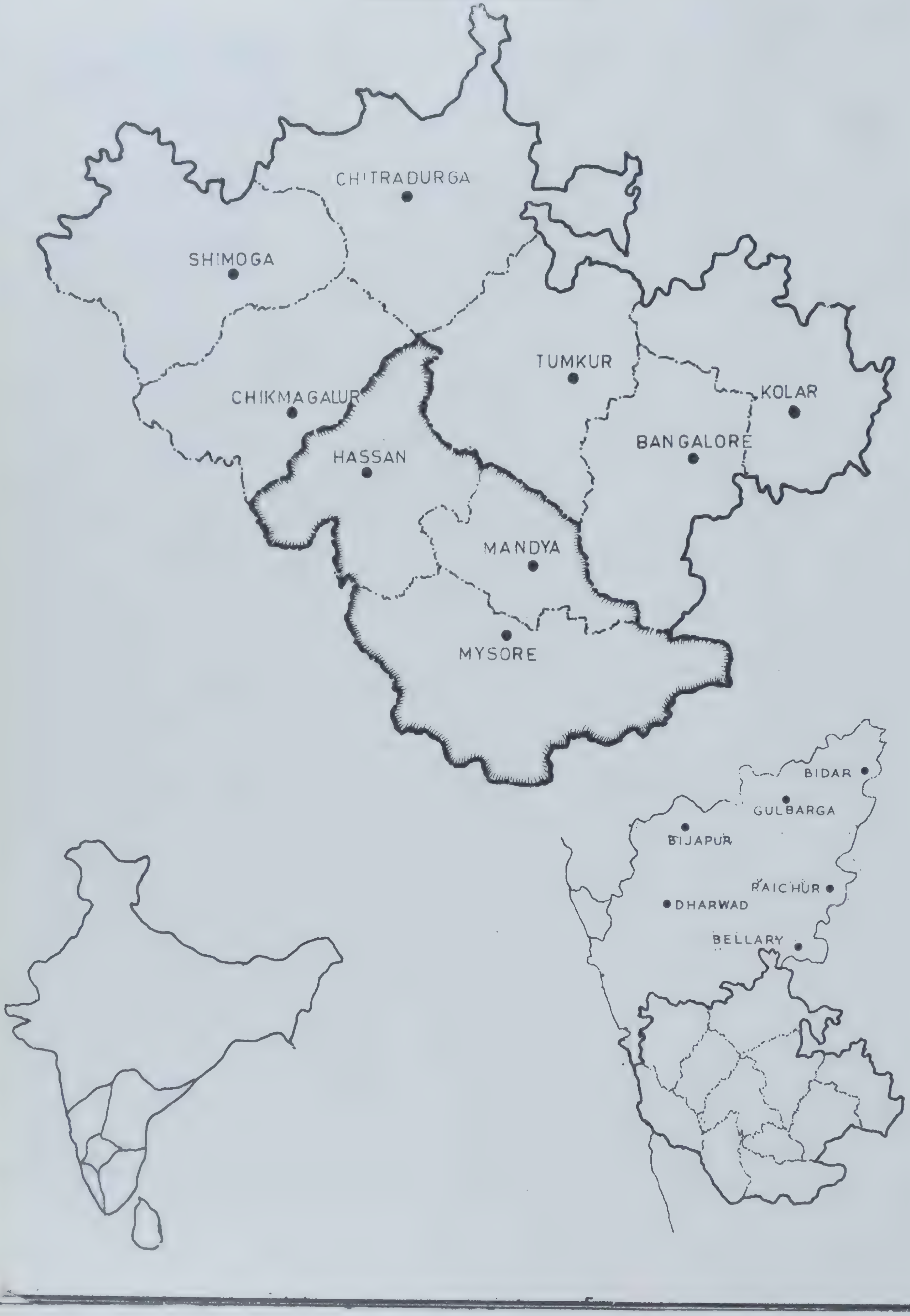
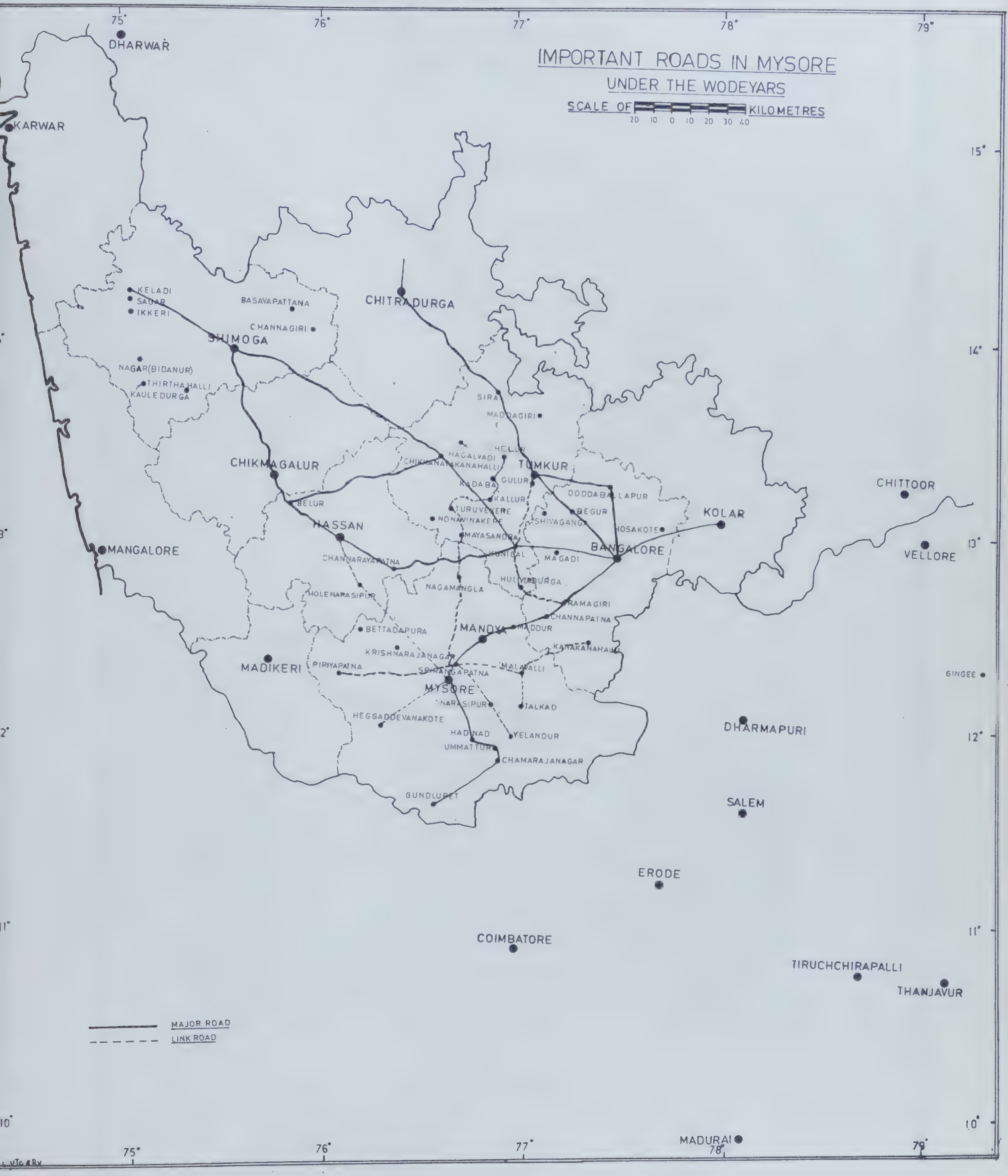

CHITRADURGA
SHIMOGA
TUMKUR
KOLAR
CHIKMAGALUR
BANGALORE
HASSAN
MANDYA
MYSORE
BIDAR
GULBARGA
BIJAPUR
RAICHUR
DHARWAD
BELLARY

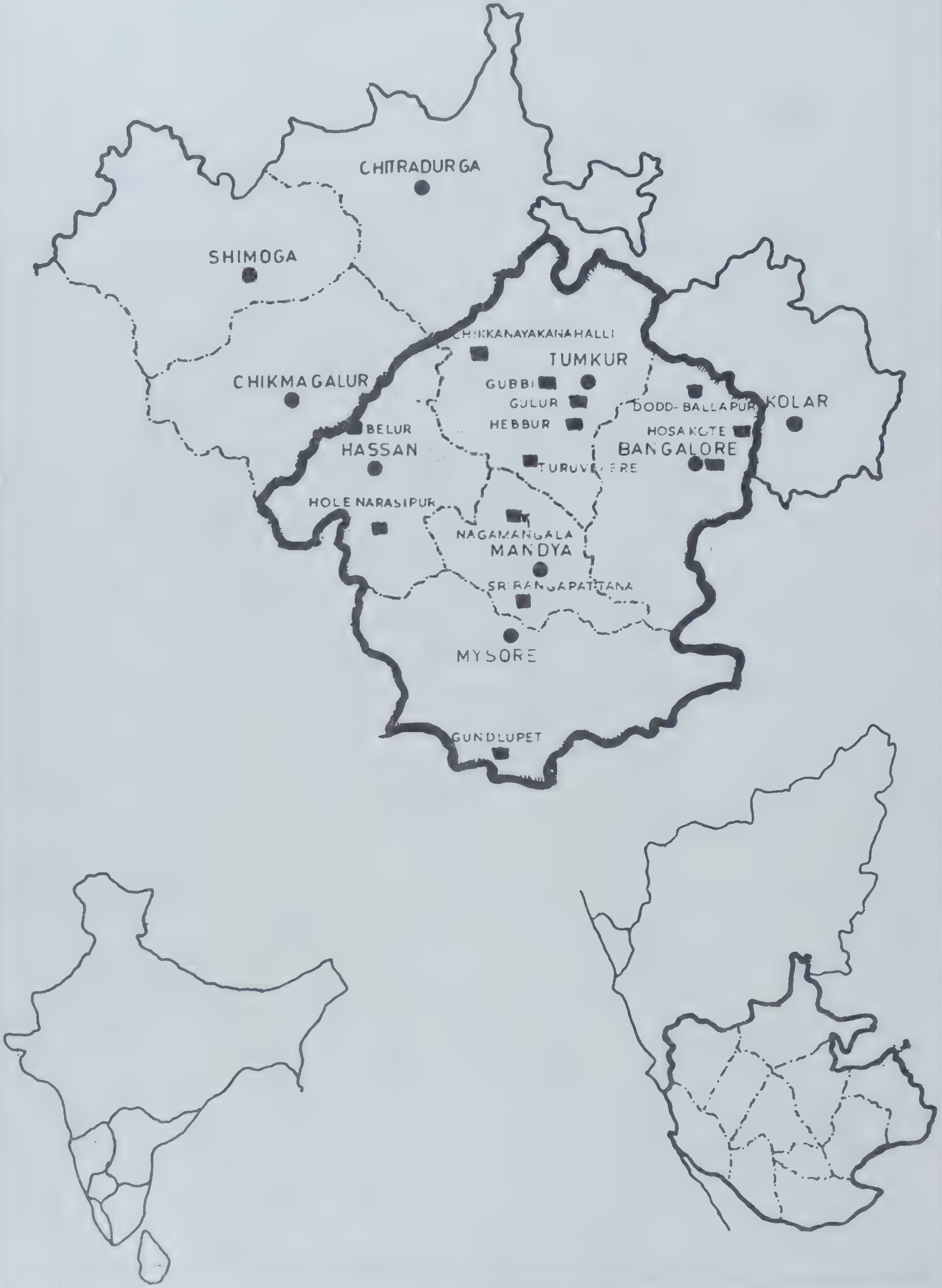


IMPORTANT ROADS IN MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYARS

SCALE OF KILOMETRES
20 10 0 10 20 30 40
75°
76°
77°
78°
79°
15°
14°
13°
12°
11°
10°
DHARWAR
KARWAR
KELADI
SAGAR
IKKERI
BASAVAPATTANA
CHITRADURGA
CHANNAGIRI
SHIMOGA
NAGAR(BIDANUR)
THIRTHAHALLI
KAULEDURGA
SIRA
MADDAGIRI
HELUR
HAGALVADI
CHIKKANAYAKANAHALLI
TUMKUR
CHIKMAGALUR
KADABA
GULUR
DODDABALLAPUR
KALLUR
BELUR
TURUVEKERE
BEGUR
NONAVINAKERE
SHIVAGANGA
HOSAKOTE
KOLAR
CHITTOOR
HASSAN
MAYASANDRA
MANGALORE
CHANNARAYAPATNA
KUNIGAL
MAGADI
BANGALORE
VELLORE
HOLENARASIPUR
NAGAMANGLA
HULIYURDURGA
RAMAGIRI
CHANNAPATNA
BETTADAPURA
MANDYA
MADDUR
KANAKANAHALLI
KRISHNARAJANAGAR
MADIKERI
PIRIYAPATNA
SRIRANGAPATNA
MALAVALLI
GINGEE
MYSORE
NARASIPUR
TALKAD
HEGGADDEVANAKOTE
DHARMAPURI
HADINAD
YELANDUR
UMMATTUR
CHAMARAJANAGAR
GUNDLUPET
SALEM
ERODE
COIMBATORE
TIRUCHCHIRAPALLI
THANJAVUR
MADURAI
MAJOR ROAD
LINK ROAD

IMPORTANT TRADE CENTRES IN MYSORE UNDER WODEYARS

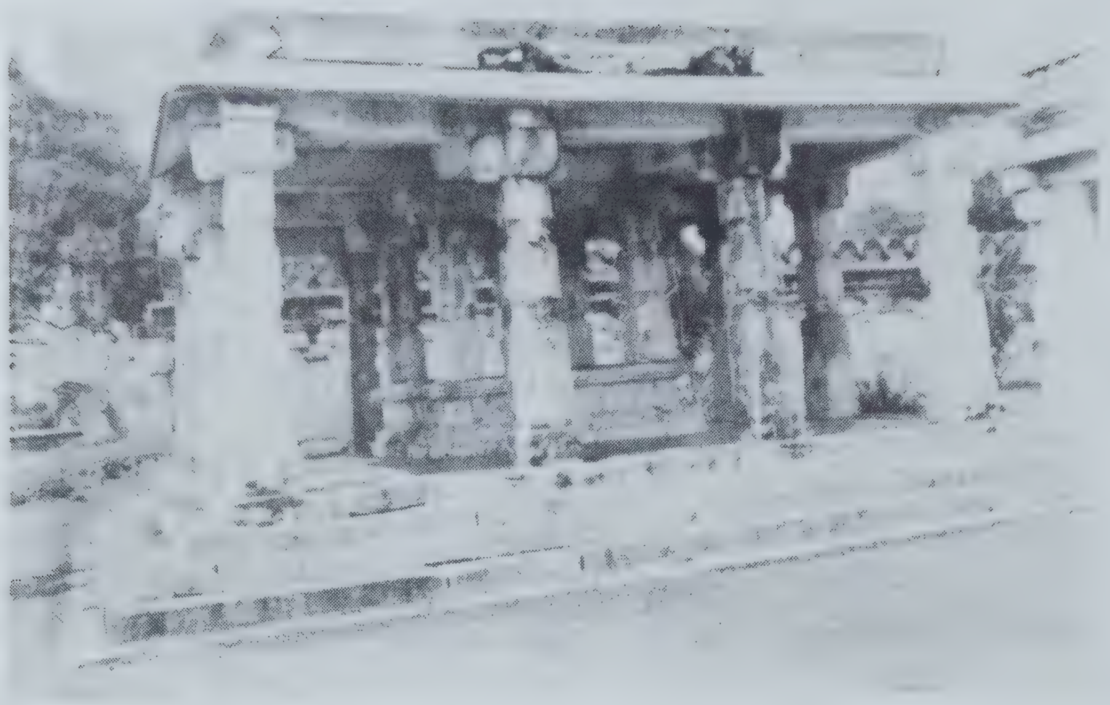
SCALE:1 CM=20 KM


CHITRADURGA
SHIMOGA
CHIKKANAYAKANAHALLI
TUMKUR
CHIKMAGALUR
GUBBI
GULUR
HEBBUR
DODD-BALLAPUR
KOLAR
BELUR
HASSAN
HOSAKOTE
BANGALORE
TURUVEKERE
HOLE NARASIPUR
NAGAMANGALA
MANDYA
SRIRANGAPATTANA
MYSORE
GUNDLUPET
VTC-RY

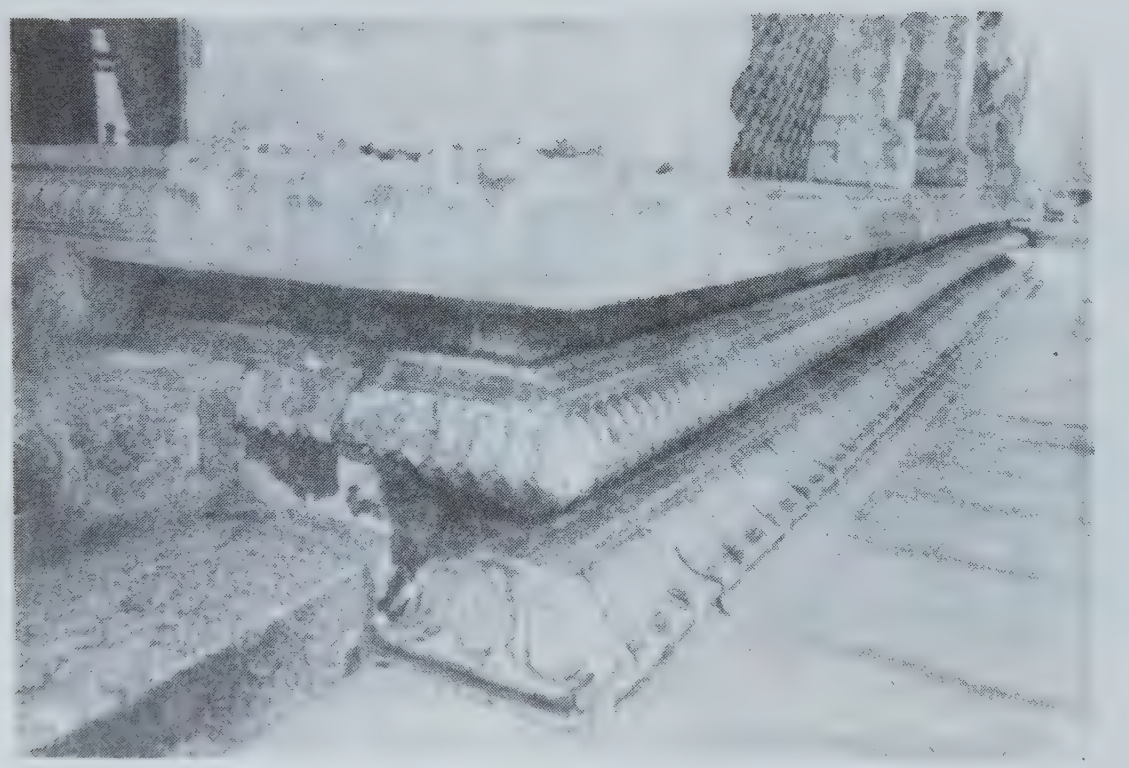
TEMPLES

The Wodeyars greatly encouraged the art of temple building. Quite a good number of temples assignable to this period have come down to us - most of them in ruins. In these temples we notice all the salient features of the temple architecture of the Vijayanagar period namely, the entrance tower, the vast pillared halls, separate shrine for the mother goddess, separate shrines for the subsidiary deities and so on. The temple architecture under the early Wodeyars represents a declining phase of the Vijayanagar architecture. Still, in their style and elegance some of these Mysore temples like the Narasimha temple at Srirangapatna, the Paravasudeva temple at Devanagara (Gundlupet) and that of Venkataramana in the fort at Bangalore come close to some of the fine examples of the temples under Vijayanagar and speak of the glory and splendour of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore.

1. Venkataramana Temple - Fort Bangalore panoramic view from south

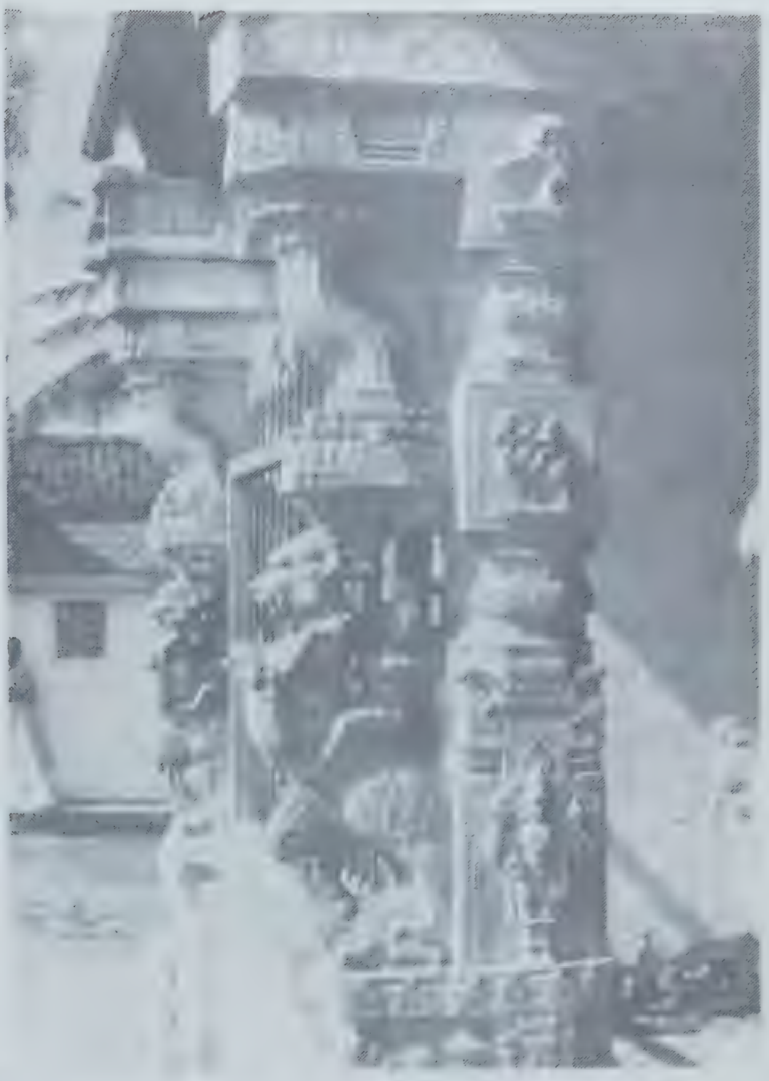


2. *Kalyana-Mantapa,* Lakshminarasimha Temple (Srirangapatna, Dist. Mandya)

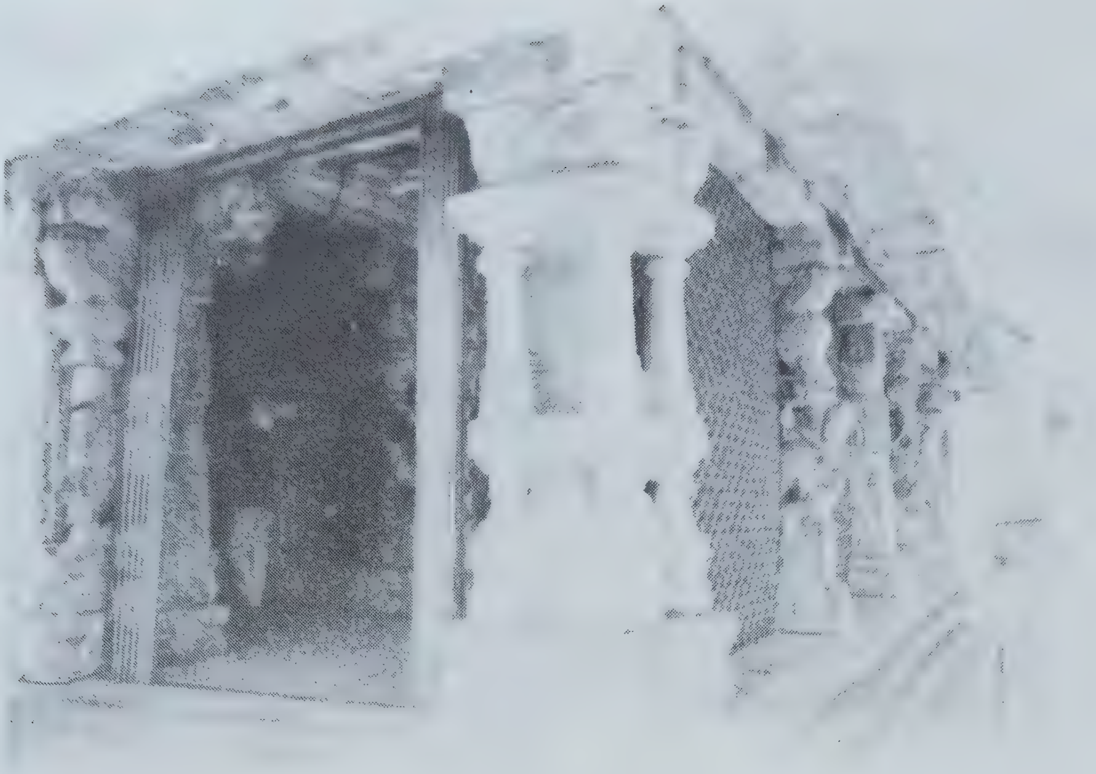


3. Basement prieze - *Navaranga mandapa* Venkataramana Temple, Fort Bangalore

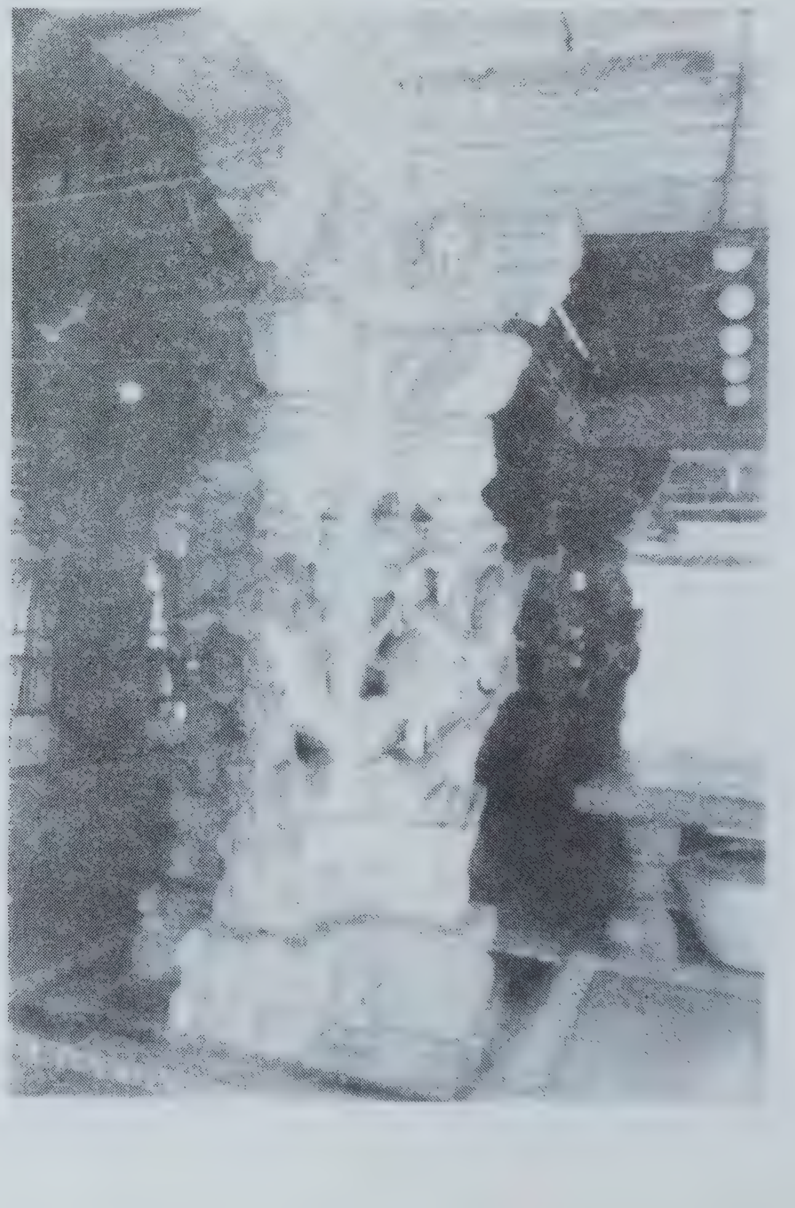
4. Rearing Lion pillars, Paravasudeva temple (Devanagara, Gundlupet, Dist. Mysore)



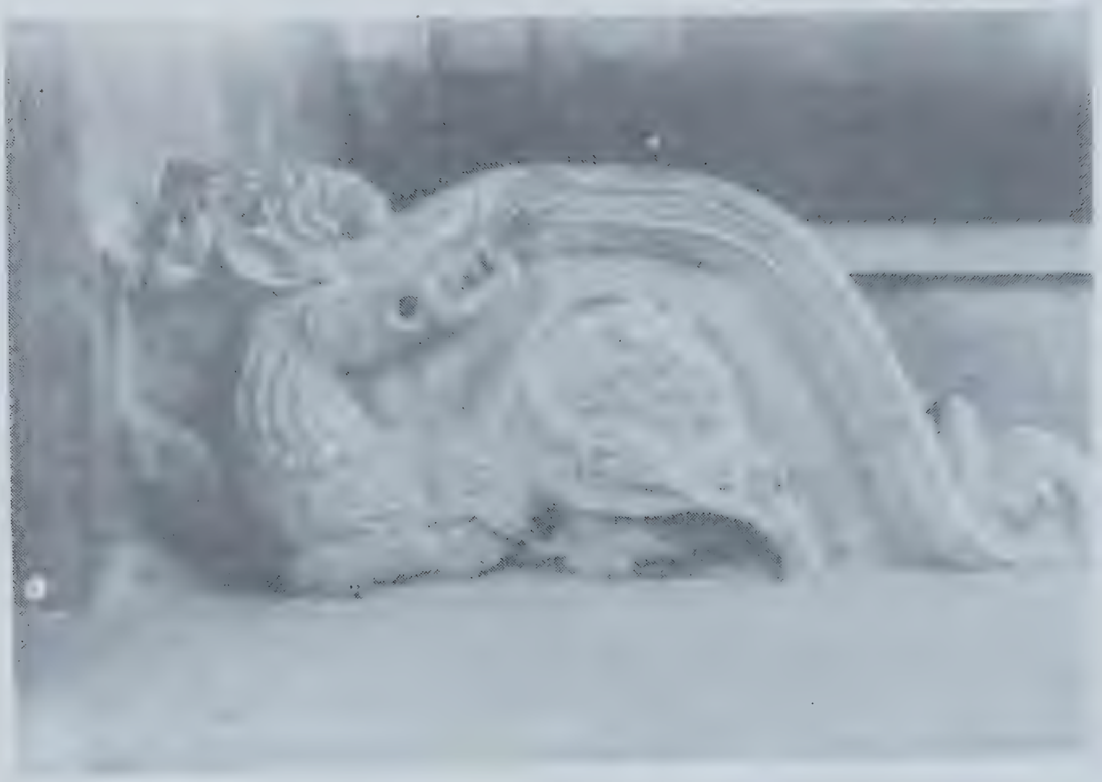
5. Pillared hall, Paravasudeva Temple (Devanagara, Gundlupet, Dist. Mysore)



6. *Navaramga* pillars on the south side Venkataramana Temple, Fort Bangalore



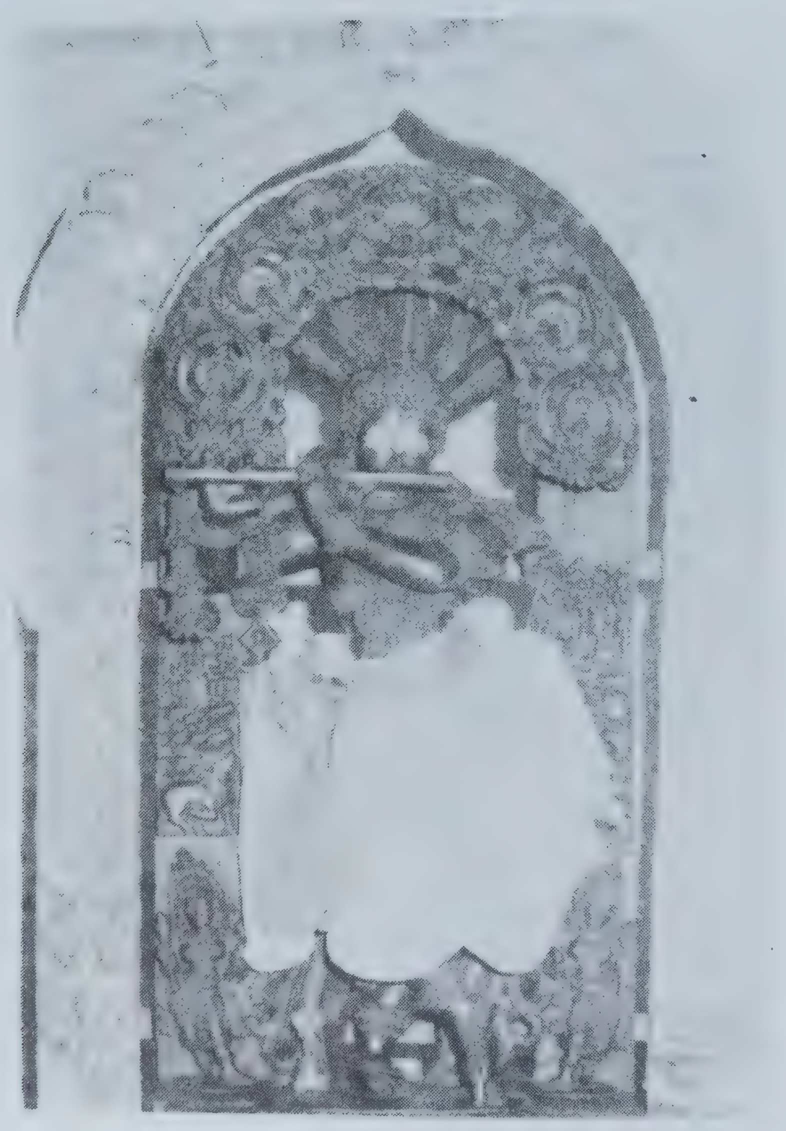
7. Pillar with *Gaja-Simha* motif Venkataramana Temple, Fort Bangalore



8. Balustrde with *vyala* motif Venkataramana Temple, Fort Bangalore

STONE SCULPTURES

Art of sculpture under the early Wodeyars cannot be said to be in a flourishing condition. Still, we have certain sculptures belonging to this period which are of much artistic importance. The beautiful figures of Dakshinamurthy, Kshetrapala, Surya and so on in the Trinesvara temple, Mysore, the images of Paravasudeva, his consort Kamalavalli originally set up in the Paravasudeva temple Devanagara, now kept in the Vijayanarayana temple at the same place the devotional inscribed image of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar in the temple of Lakshminarasimha in Srirangapatna are some good examples of the sculptures belonging to this period. A few of these pieces are also of much iconographic significance. The beautiful image of Venugopala set up by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the Apratima Rajagopala temple at Haradanahalli is also a fine piece resembling Hoysala workmanship.



9. Venugopala, Apratimarajagopala temple, Haradanahalli (Chamarajanagar taluk, Dist. Mysore)

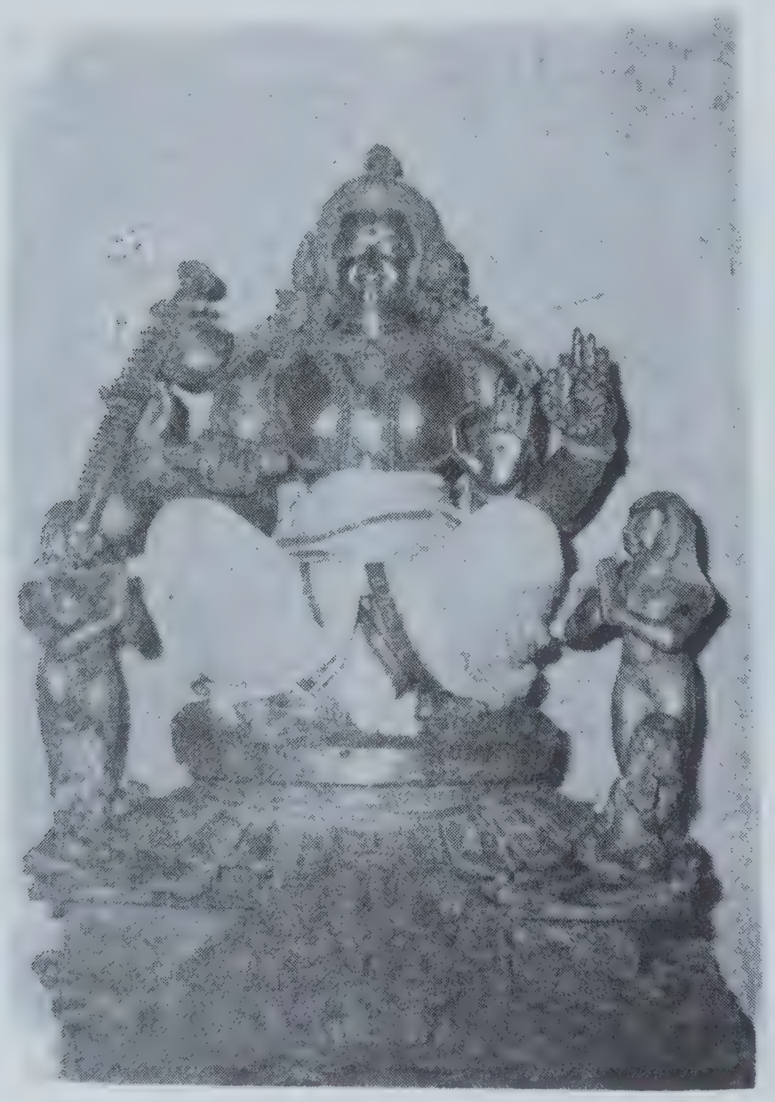
10. Gandabherunda - Double headed eagle a relief sculpture on a pillar in the *mukhamandapa*. Apratimarajagopala temple, Haradanahalli, Dist. Mysore.

11. Relief sculpture on a Navaranga pillar Paravasudeva temple, Gundlupet. Traditionally this figure is said to represent Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, the builder of the temple.

12. Devotional image of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar (1638-1659) Lakshminarasimha temple, Srirangapatna, Dist. Mandya.

BRONZES

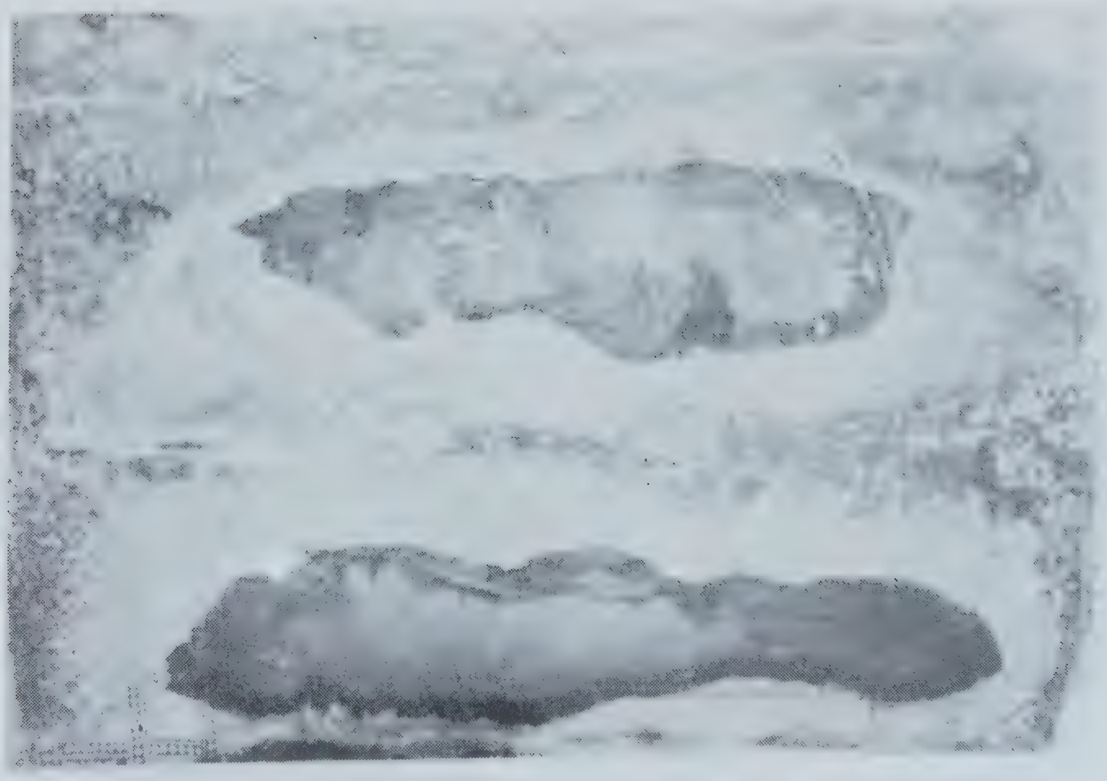
The Wodeyar rule witnessed much progress in the art of metal casting and image making. We have quite a good number of bronzes that can definitely be assigned to this period. The 63 images of the Saiva saints (*Nayanmars*) set up by dalvoy Nanjarajaiya in the temple of Nanjundesvara at Nanjangud and the *Vinadhara* Dakshinamurthy set up by the same donor inthe Gangadharesvara temple of Srirangapatna are some of the outstanding examples of the bronzes of the period. In their proportionate bodies, delicate modelling and ornamental details these figures give us an idea of the high standard of metallic art of the period. They also throw much light on the religious condition of the people and the royal patronage that was extended to the various branches of art.



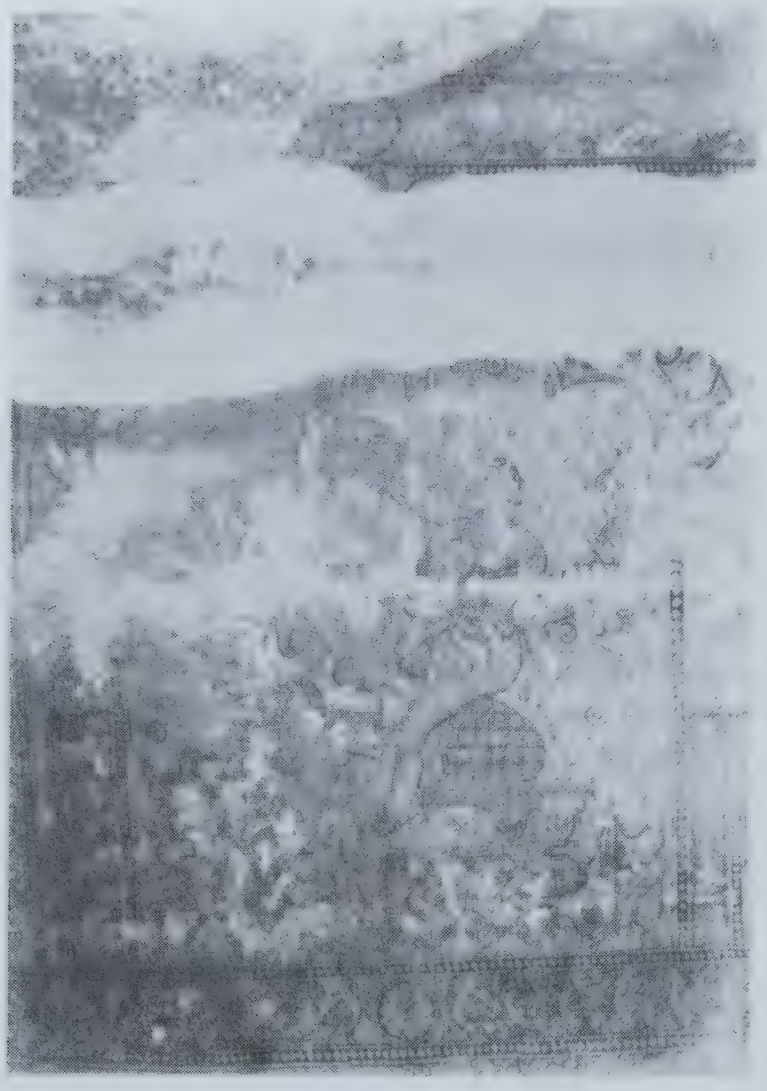
13. Vinadhara Dakshinamurthy Gangadharesvara temple,
Srirangapatna, Dist. Mandya.

PAINTINGS

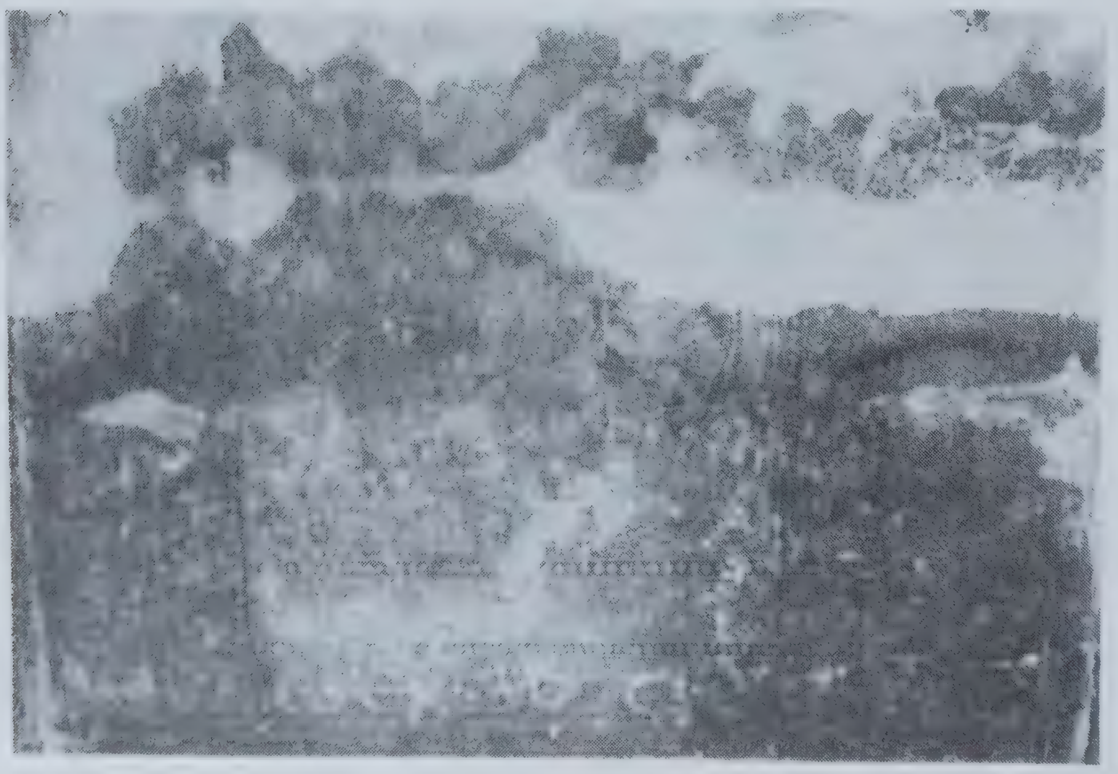
The contemporary writers refer to several mural paintings in the palace at Srirangapatna. From their accounts we understand that the art of painting received great royal patronage in Mysore in those days. But none of these has come down to us. The only paintings of the Wodeyar period that have survived, are those noticed on the ceilings and cross beams of the cloistered pavilion on the rear side of the Divyalingesvara temple at Haradanahalli in Chamarajanagar taluk. These panels are also very badly damaged and the surviving ones are quite fragmentary. In their style and execution they resemble the Vijayanagar paintings at Lepakshi and Hampi. The pleasing colours used, the movements portrayed, the graceful postures of the figures and the beautiful ornamental designs reflect the trained hand of the artist and the aesthetic standard of the society.



14. Siva as Gajasura - ceiling paintings in the cloistered *mandapa,* Divyalingesvara temple, Haradanahalli, Dist. Mysore.



15. Lakshminarayana group, painting on the ceiling of the pillared *mandapa,* Divyalingesvara temple, Haradanahalli, Dist. Mysore.



16. Panchamukha Siva-painted panel on the ceiling Divyalingesvara temple, Haradanahalli, Dist. Mysore.

17. Kiratarjuniyam - painted panel on the cross beam pillared *mandapa* Divyalingesvara temple, Haradanahalli, Dist. Mysore.

18. Rajarajesvari - painting on canvas Gangadharesvara temple, Srirangapatna, Dist. Mandya.

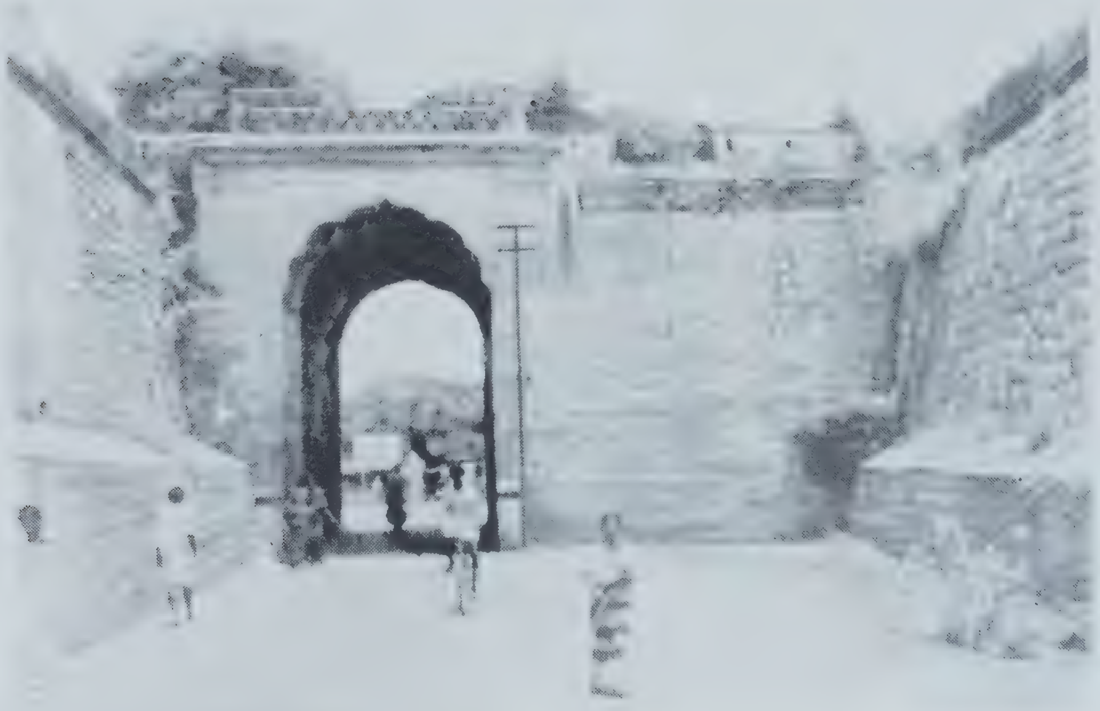
FORT AT SRIRANGAPATNA

The fort was originally built by Timmanna dannayaka, the chief of Nagamangala in the 15th century. Extensive improvements were made to it during the Wodeyar period by the addition of bastions, strategic tower and so on. It is built of nicely cut blocks of stone with mortar as binding material. Rev. Father Cinnami who visited Srirangapatna in 1639 writes that this city was surrounded by three defence walls and three moats. This is corroborated by Govindavaidya the court poet of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. This is an island fort and the eastern side, which is vulnerable for attacks is covered by extensive glacis which is a good means of protection to the fort. Though the fort at Srirangapatna is not so massive as the forts at Hampi or Bijapur, it was strong enough to resist successfully several foreign attacks like the attacks of Ranadullah Khan in 1638-39, Shivappa Nayaka's siege of 1659, the invasion of Shivaji in 1677 and so on. It also prevanted the British for considerable length of time to reduce the same inspite of their superior strength and strategy.

19. Fort-Srirangapatna with the river Kaveri in the foreground.
View from south.

BANGALORE GATE, FORT SRIRANGAPATNA

The fort at Srirangapatna was provided with two gate ways - one on the east and the other on the south called respectively as Bangalore and Mysore gates. The Bangalore gate was originally known as the Ganjam gate. In the medieval Kannada vocabulary the gate way of a fort is called *Hulimukha* (Tiger's face). On either side of the gate way were the guards' quarters *(Bagila Sejje)* where armed soldiers would always keep guarding the fort. Between the gate way and the moat out side was the draw bridge which provided access to the fort. This draw bridge worked on hinges and could be drawn up by means of chains in times of danger to prevent the enemy from entering the fort.



20. Bangalore gate, Fort Srirangapatna

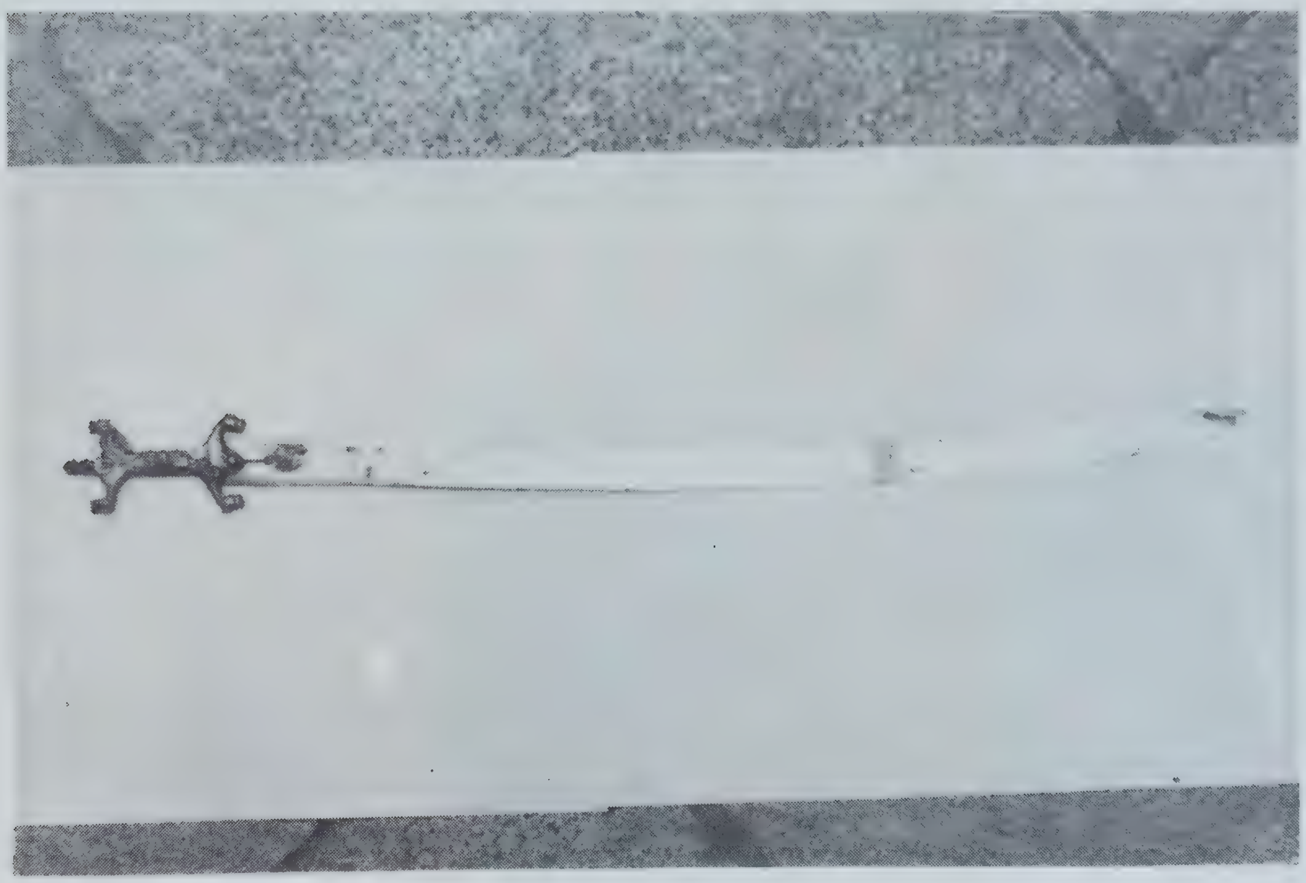
WATCH TOWER, FORT SRIRANGAPATNA

A fort was usually provided with a watch tower in addition to the bastions. The watch tower is an independent structure inside the fort meant for the guards to have a view of the movements of the enemies at a distance. The *upriburz* at Bijapur is a good example of a watch tower. The watch tower at Srirangapatna is now used as a flag staff cavalier though originally it was meant for a different purpose. The watch tower is a high platform or a strategic tower. In the contemporary Kannada literature it is called *Mugilattane.* The watch tower differs from a bastion in one respect. That is, a bastion which is a part of the fort is a point of defence and was originally provided with guns and cannons to fight the attackers. But a watch tower, as its name indicates, was only a tall tower intended for the guards to watch the movements of the enemies. A watch tower is usually constructed in such a strategic part of the fort from where the defenders could observe the movement of the enemies without being seen by the latter.

21. Watch tower, Srirangapatna, Dist. Mandya

SWORDS

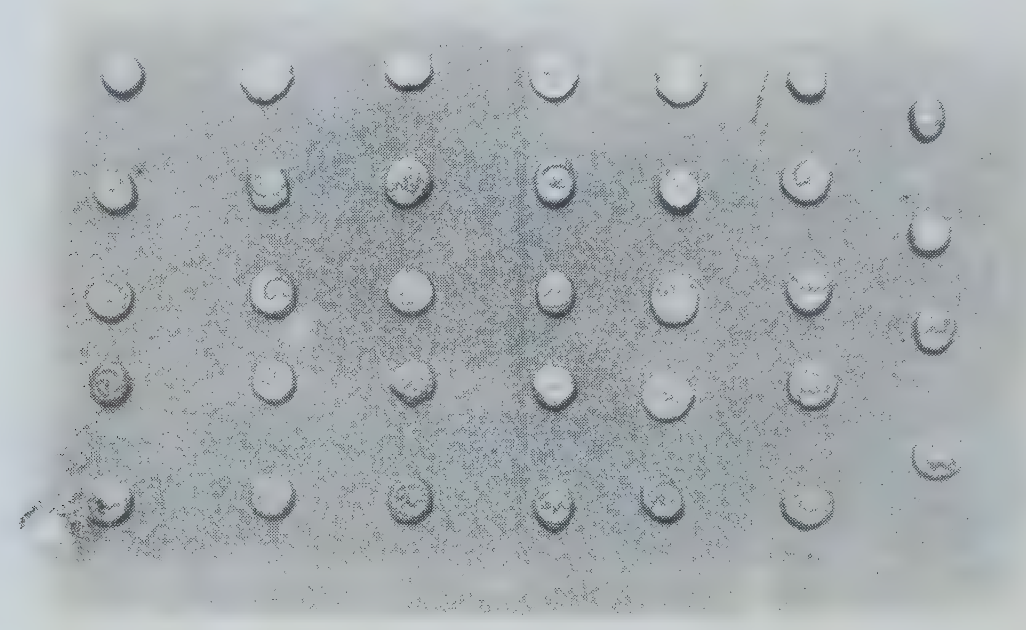
Though gun power was introduced, swords also played an important part in the wars of those days. The cavaliers used swords. The Wodeyar rulers are well known for sword play or single combat. Yadu slew dalvoy Mara Nayaka with his sword in 1399 and Raja Wodeyar finished Deparaj of Kembal in a single combat in 1590. Similarly Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar is remembered as a deft swordsman. The Mysore Palace Records supply us interesting details of his magnificent skill in wielding the sword. His sword was known as *Vijaya Narasimha.* In the Mysore Palace armoury we have a few swords which, on the basis of the monogram *'De'* on them may be said to have belonged to Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. The sword belt of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar is another interesting object in the armoury. This sword is so thin that it easily bends and is said to have been used by this warrior ruler as his waist belt so that it could also be used as a sword for self defence under an emergency. Because of his uncommon bravery and chivalrons exploits as a swordsman, Kanthirava is popularly known in these parts even today as *Ranadhira* (brave warrior).



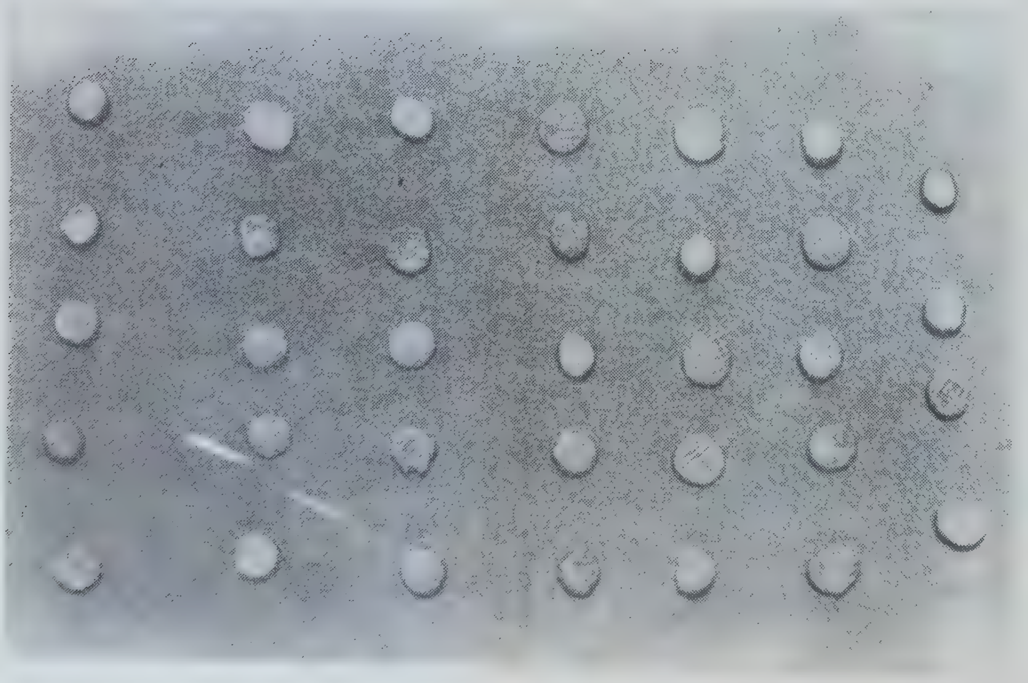
22. Sword belt of Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar

COINS

Copper coins belonging to the Wodeyar dynasty do not bear any legend. It is therefore, difficult to identify properly the copper currency of the period. However, we have some coins coming from this region in the post-Vijayanagar period. These coins are of two types namely, first, coins with an elephant on the obverse and a check pattern on the reverse and secondly, the Kannada numeral type. The latter type bears on one side a Kannada numeral ranging from 1 to 31. It is held by some scholars that this numbered type belongs to the period of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and the numerals probably stand for the regnal year of the same ruler who ruled for 31 years from 1673 to 1704. The above two types of coins are noticed only round about Mysore region subsequent to the fall of the Vijayanagar empire. It is therefore presumable that they belong to the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore.



23. Copper coins of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore [Obverse]



24. Copper coins of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore [Reverse]